

German Reich

Greater Germanic Reich

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Chapter 1

Reich

This article is about the German word **Reich**, and in particular its historical and political implications. For other uses, see [Reich \(disambiguation\)](#).

Reich (/ˈraɪk/^[1] German: [ˈʁaɪç]) is a German word literally meaning "**realm**". The terms *Kaiserreich* (literally “realm of an emperor”) and *Königreich* (literally “realm of a king”) are used in German to refer to **empires** and kingdoms respectively.

As such, the term *Deutsches Reich* (often translated to "**German Empire**") continued to be used even after the collapse of the German Empire and abolition of the monarchy in 1918, without any imperial connotations.

The term derives from the **Germanic** word meaning “realm” in general, but is typically used in German to designate a **kingdom** or an empire, especially the **Roman Empire**.^[2] The terms *Kaisertum* (roughly “Emperordom”) and *Kaiserreich* are used in German to more specifically define an empire ruled by an emperor.^[2]

Reich is comparable in meaning and development (as well as descending from the same **Proto-Indo-European** root) to the English word *realm* (via French *reaume* “kingdom” from Latin *regalis* “royal”). It is used for historical empires in general, such as the **Roman Empire** (*Römisches Reich*), **Persian Empire** (*Perserreich*), and both the **Tsardom of Russia** and the **Russian Empire** (*Zarenreich*, literally “Tsar realm”). The Eastern Realm (*Österreich*) of the Holy Roman Empire is still the name used today for **Austria**.

In the **history of Germany** specifically, it is used to refer to:

- the early medieval Frankish Realm (**Francia**) and **Carolingian Empire** (the *Fränkisches Reich* and *Karolingerreich*);
- the Holy Roman Empire (*Heiliges Römisches Reich*), which lasted from the coronation of Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor in 800, until 1806, when it was dissolved during the Napoleonic Wars;
- the German Empire (*Deutsches Reich* or *Deutsches Kaiserreich*), which lasted from the unification of Germany in 1871 until its collapse after World War I, during the **German Revolution of 1918–1919**;
- the **Weimar Republic** of 1919–1933 continued to use *Deutsches Reich* as its official name;
- **Nazi Germany**, the state often referred to as the *Third Reich*, which lasted from the **Machtergreifung** in 1933 until the end of World War II in Europe in 1945.

The term “Third Reich” was adopted by the Nazis as propaganda to legitimize their government as a successor to the retroactively renamed “First” and “Second” Reichs. The terms “First Reich” and “Second Reich” are not used by historians.

1.1 Etymology

The Latin equivalent of *Reich* is *imperium* or rather with a king *regnum*. Both terms translate to “rule, sovereignty, government”, usually of **monarchs** (kings or emperors), but also of gods, and of the **Christian God**.^[3] The German

version of the Lord's Prayer uses the words *Dein Reich komme* for "ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου" (usually translated as "thy kingdom come" in English).^[4] *Himmelreich* is the German term for the concept of "kingdom of heaven".

The German noun *Reich* is derived from Old High German *rīhhi*, which together with its cognates in Old English *rīce* Old Norse *rīki* (modern Scandinavian *rike/riqe*) and Gothic *reiki* is from a Common Germanic **rīkijan*. The English noun is extinct, but persists in composition, in *bishopric*.

The German adjective *reich*, on the other hand, has an exact cognate in English *rich*. Both the noun (**rīkijan*) and the adjective (**rīkijaz*) are derivations based on a Common Germanic **rīks* "ruler, king", reflected in Gothic as *reiks*, glossing ἄρχων "leader, ruler, chieftain".

It is probable that the Germanic word was not inherited from pre-Proto-Germanic, but rather loaned from Celtic (i.e. Gaulish *rīx*) at an early time.^[5]

The word has many cognates outside of Germanic and Celtic, notably Latin *rex* and Sanskrit *raja* "king". It is ultimately from a Proto-Indo-European root **reg-*, meaning "to straighten out or rule".

1.2 Usage throughout German history

1.2.1 Frankish Empire

Frankenreich or *Fränkisches Reich* is the German name given to the Frankish Kingdom of Charlemagne. *Frankenreich* came to be used of Western Francia and medieval France after the development of Eastern Francia into the Holy Roman Empire. The German name of France, *Frankreich*, is a contraction of *Frankenreich* used in reference to the kingdom of France from the late medieval period.^[6]

1.2.2 Holy Roman Empire

See also: Holy Roman Empire

The term *Reich* was part of the German names for Germany for much of its history. *Reich* was used by itself in the common German variant of the Holy Roman Empire, (*Heiliges Römisches Reich (HRR)*). *Der rīche* was a title for the Emperor. However, Latin, not German, was the formal legal language of the medieval Empire (*Imperium Romanum Sacrum*), so English-speaking historians are more likely to use Latin *imperium* than German *Reich* as a term for this period of German history. The common contemporary Latin legal term used in documents of the Holy Roman Empire was for a long time *regnum* ("rule, domain, empire", such as in *Regnum Francorum* for the Frankish Kingdom) before *imperium* was in fact adopted, the latter first attested in 1157, whereas the parallel use of *regnum* never fell out of use during the Middle Ages.

Modern age

At the beginning of the modern age, some circles redubbed the HRE into the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" (*Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation*), a symptom of the formation of a German nation state as opposed to the multinational state the Empire was throughout its history. Austria-Hungary and Prussia opposed this movement.

Resistance against the French revolution with its concept of the state brought a new movement to create a German "ethnic state", especially after the Napoleonic wars. Ideal for this state was the Holy Roman Empire; the legend arose that Germany were "un-defeated when unified", especially after the Franco-Prussian War (*Deutsch-Französischer Krieg*, lit. "German-French war"). Before that, the German question ruptured this "German unity" after the 1848 Revolution before it was achieved, however; Austria-Hungary as a multinational state could not become part of the new "German empire", and nationality conflicts in Prussia with the Prussian Poles arose ("We can never be Germans – Prussians, every time!").

The advent of national feeling and the movement to create an ethnically German Empire did lead directly to nationalism in 1871. Ethnic minorities declined since the beginning of the modern age; the Polabs, Sorbs and even the once important Low Germans had to assimilate themselves. This marked the transition between Antijudaism, where converted Jews were accepted as full citizens (in theory), to Antisemitism, where Jews were thought to be from a different ethnicity that could never become German. Apart from all those ethnic minorities being de facto extinct, even today

the era of **national feeling** is taught in history in German schools as an important stepping-stone on the road to a German nation.

The term *royal reich*, or *reich royale*, was coined to describe a monarchy or royalty-backed network that characterizes many of the same attributes that Nazi Germany possessed, notably privilege of royal rank, repression and silencing of expression.

1.2.3 German Reich

See also: **German Reich**

In the case of the Hohenzollern Empire (1871–1918), the official name of the country was *Deutsches Reich* (“German Realm”), because under the **Constitution of the German Empire**, it was legally a **confederation** of German states under the permanent presidency of the **King of Prussia**. The constitution granted the King of Prussia the title of “German Emperor” (*Deutscher Kaiser*), but this referred to the German nation rather than directly to the “country” of Germany.^[2]

The exact translation of the term “German Empire” would be *Deutsches Kaiserreich*. This name was sometimes used informally for Germany between 1871 and 1918, but it was disliked by the first German Emperor, **Wilhelm I**, and never became official.

The **unified Germany** which arose under Chancellor **Otto von Bismarck** in 1871 was the first entity that was officially called in German *Deutsches Reich*. *Deutsches Reich* remained the official name of Germany until 1945, although these years saw three very different political systems more commonly referred to in English as: “the **German Empire**” (1871–1918), the **Weimar Republic** (1919–1933; this term is a pre-**World War II** coinage not used at the time), and **Nazi Germany** (1933–1945).

1.2.4 During the Weimar Republic

After 1918 “Reich” was usually not translated as “Empire” in English-speaking countries, and the title was instead simply used in its original German. During the **Weimar Republic** the term *Reich* and the prefix *Reichs-* referred not to the idea of empire but rather to the institutions, officials, affairs etc. of the whole country as opposed to those of one of its **constituent federal states** (*Länder*), in the same way that the terms *Bund* (federation) and *Bundes-* (federal) are used in Germany today, and comparable to *The Crown* in Commonwealth countries and *The Union* in the **United States**.

1.2.5 During the Nazi period

The **Nazis** sought to **legitimize** their power **historiographically** by portraying their ascendancy to rule as the direct continuation of an ancient German past. They adopted the term *Drittes Reich* (“Third Empire” – usually rendered in English in the partial-translation “the Third Reich”), first used in a 1923 book entitled *Das Dritte Reich* by **Arthur Moeller van den Bruck**,^[7] that counted the medieval **Holy Roman Empire** as the first and the 1871–1918 monarchy as the second, which was then to be followed by a “reinvigorated” third one. This ignored the previous 1918–1933 **Weimar period**, which the Nazis denounced as a historical aberration, contemptuously referring to it as “**the System**”. In the summer of 1939 the Nazis themselves actually banned the continued use of the term in the press, ordering it to use expressions such as *nationalsozialistisches Deutschland* (“National Socialist Germany”), *Großdeutsches Reich* (“**Greater German Reich**”), or simply *Deutsches Reich* (**German Reich**) to refer to the German state instead.^[8] It was Adolf Hitler’s personal desire that *Großdeutsches Reich* and *nationalsozialistischer Staat* (“[the] National Socialist State”) would be used in place of *Drittes Reich*.^[8] *Reichskanzlei Berchtesgaden* (“**Reich Chancellery Berchtesgaden**”), another nickname of the regime (named after the eponymous town located in the vicinity of **Hitler’s mountain residence** where he spent much of his time in office) was also banned at the same time, despite the fact that a sub-section of the Chancellery was in fact installed there to serve Hitler’s needs.^[8]

Although the term “Third Reich” is still in common use to refer to this historical period, the terms “First Reich” and “Second Reich” for the earlier periods are seldom found outside Nazi propaganda. To use the terms “First Reich” and “Second Reich”, as some commentators did in the post-war years, is generally frowned upon as accepting Nazi historiography. During and following the **Anschluss** (annexation) of **Austria** in 1938 Nazi propaganda also used the political slogan *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer* (“One people, one *Reich*, one leader”), in order to enforce **pan-German**

sentiment. The term *Altes Reich* ("old Reich"; cf. French *ancien regime* for monarchical France) is sometimes used to refer to the **Holy Roman Empire**. The term *Altreich* was also used after the Anschluss to denote Germany with its pre-1938 post-World War I borders. Another name that was popular during this period was the term *Tausendjähriges Reich* ("Thousand-Year Reich"), the **millennial connotations** of which suggested that Nazi Germany would last for a thousand years.

The Nazis also spoke of enlarging the then-established Greater German Reich into a "**Greater Germanic Reich of the German Nation**" (*Großgermanisches Reich Deutscher Nation*) by gradually annexing all the historically Germanic countries and regions of Europe (Flanders, the **Netherlands**, **Denmark**, **Norway**, **Sweden** etc.) directly into the Nazi state.^[9]

1.2.6 Possible negative connotations in modern use

A number of previously neutral words used by the Nazis have later taken on negative connotations in German (e.g. *Führer* or *Heil*); while in many contexts *Reich* is not one of them (*Frankreich*, France; *Römisches Reich*, **Roman Empire**), it can imply German **imperialism** or strong **nationalism** if it is used to describe a political or governmental entity. *Reich* has thus not been used in official terminology since 1945, though it is still found in the name of the **Reichstag building**, which since 1999 has housed the German federal **parliament**, the **Bundestag**. The decision not to rename the Reichstag building was taken only after long debate in the Bundestag; even then, it is described officially as *Reichstag – Sitz des Bundestages* (Reichstag, seat of the Bundestag). As seen in this example, the term "Bund" (federation) has replaced "Reich" in the names of various state institutions such as the army ("**Bundeswehr**"). The term "Reichstag" also remains in use in the German language as the term for the parliaments of some foreign monarchies, such as **Sweden's Riksdag** and **Japan's pre-war Imperial Diet**.

1.2.7 Limited usage in the railway system of the German Democratic Republic

The exception is that during the **Cold War**, the East German railway incongruously continued to use the name *Deutsche Reichsbahn* (German Reich Railways), which had been the name of the national railway during the Weimar Republic and the Nazi era. Even after **German reunification** in October 1990, the Reichsbahn continued to exist for over three years as the operator of the railroad in eastern Germany, ending finally on 1 January 1994 when the Reichsbahn and the western **Deutsche Bundesbahn** were merged to form the privatized **Deutsche Bahn AG**.

1.2.8 Names

Due to the importance of this word it is a popular conjunction in names. Many German names contain the word *reich* in modified forms. Such as **Dietrich**, **Heinrich**, **Friedrich**, **Richard**, and so on.

1.3 Usage in related languages

1.3.1 Rike, rige, riik

Rike is the Swedish and Norwegian word for "**realm**", in Danish spelled **rige**, of similar meaning as German *Reich*. The word is traditionally used for sovereign entities; a country with a King or Queen as **head of state**, such as the United Kingdom or Sweden itself, is a (*kunga*)**rike**, literally a "royal realm". Two regions in Norway that were petty kingdoms before the unification of Norway around 900 AD have retained the word in the names (see **Ringerike** and **Romerike**). **Riik** is an Estonian word for country and realm.

The word is used in "Svea rike", with the current spelling *Sverige*, the name of Sweden in Swedish. The derived prefix "riks-" implies nationwide or under central jurisdiction such as in *riksväg*, the Swedish name for a national road. It is also present in the names of institutions such as the **Riksdag**, **Sveriges Riksbank**, **Riksåklagaren**, **Rikspolisstyrelsen**, **Riksteatern**, **riksdaler**, etc. *Riksförbund* is used as a denomination by many national central organizations. *Rike* in Swedish is also used in *utrikes* (relating to foreign countries and other things from abroad) such as *Utrikesdepartementet* (Ministry for Foreign Affairs) and *utrikesnyheter* (news from abroad). The opposite of *utrikes* is *inrikes* (relating to the home country).

The **Lord's Prayer** uses the word in the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish versions: *Tillkomme ditt rike*, *Komme ditt rike*, *Komme dit rige* ('Thy kingdom come' – old versions). *Låt ditt rike komma!*, *La ditt rike komme*, *Komme dit rige* ('Let your kingdom come' – new versions).

“Rike” is also a now-archaic English word cognate with “reich”.

1.3.2 Rijk/ryk

Rijk is the Dutch and **ryk** the Afrikaans equivalent of German *Reich*.

In a political sense in the Netherlands and Belgium the word *rijk* often connotes a connection with the **Kingdom of the Netherlands** and Belgium as opposed to the European part of the country or as opposed to provincial or municipal governments; the *ministerraad* is the executive body of the **Netherlands'** government and the *rijksministerraad* that of the **Kingdom of the Netherlands**, a similar distinction is found in *wetten* (laws) versus *rijkswetten* (kingdom laws), or the now-abolished *rijkswacht* for gendarmerie in Belgium. The word *rijk* can also be found in institutions like *Rijkswaterstaat*, *Rijksinstituut voor Volksgezondheid en Milieu*, and *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*.

In Afrikaans, *ryk* refers to rulership and area of governance (mostly a kingdom), but in a modern sense the term is used in a much more figurative sense (e.g. *Die Hemelse Ryk* (the heavenly kingdom, China)), as the sphere under one's control or influence, such as:

- *die drie ryke van die natuur: die plante-, diere- en delfstowweryk* (the three kingdoms of nature: the plant, animal and mineral kingdom)
- *die duisendjarige ryk* (the thousand year realm, the Biblical millennium)
- *die ryk van die verbeelding, van drome* (the realm of the imagination, of dreams)
- *'n bestuurder wat sy ryk goed beheer* (a manager that controls his domain well)

Like in German, the adjective *rijk/ryk* means “rich”.

1.4 See also

- Germany
- German Reich
- Imperium
- Reich (disambiguation)

1.5 References

- [1] <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/reich>
- [2] Harper's magazine, Volume 63. Pp. 593.
- [3] see e.g. Jacob Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “Reich n.”
- [4] the Lord's Prayer in Scandinavian also uses the cognate word; so it is in Old English – 'Tobecyme thin rice'
- [5] Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, original suggestion from Karl Brugmann *grundriss der vergl. gramm.* 1, 65. Also mentioned in e.g. Calvert Watkins, *American Heritage dictionary of Indo-European Roots*, p. 70.
- [6] Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* cites Conrad of Megenberg (*fastn.* 140.14): *ich pin ein konig aus Frankreich*.
- [7] *The man who invented the Third Reich: the life and times of Arthur Moeller van den Bruck*. Npi Media Ltd. May 1, 1999. ISBN 978-0-75-091866-4.
- [8] Schmitz-Berning, Cornelia (2000). *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 10875 Berlin, pp. 159–160. (in German)

- [9] Elvert, Jürgen (1999) (in German). *Mitteleuropa!: deutsche Pläne zur europäischen Neuordnung (1918–1945)*, p. 325. Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH. ISBN 3-515-07641-7.

Chapter 2

German "Reich"

This article is about the German word **Reich**, and in particular its historical and political implications. For other uses, see [Reich \(disambiguation\)](#).

Deutsches Reich (German: [ˈdɔʏtʃəs ˈʁaɪç]) was the official name for the German nation state from 1871 to 1943 in the German language. It translates literally to “German Empire”, with a context approximating that of “German Realm”.^[1] From 1943 to 1945, the official name was – but not formally proclaimed – *Großdeutsches Reich* (“Greater German Reich”) on account of the new territories annexed into the state’s administration during the Second World War.

To refer to the entire period, the partially translated “**German Reich**” /ˈdʒɜːrmən ˈraɪk/, which has no monarchical connotations, is often used,^[2] with “German Realm” being a more appropriate direct translation of the official title.^[1] Informally, this nation was also known simply as **Germany**.

There were three periods in the history of the *Reich*:

1. First Reich (German: *Erstes Reich*): Holy Roman Empire (German: *Heiliges Römisches Reich*) 962–1806 later Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (German: *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation*), also called Old Empire (German: *Altes Reich*)
2. Second Reich (German: *Zweites Reich*): German Empire (German: *Deutsches Kaiserreich*) 1871–1918
3. Third Reich (German: *Drittes Reich*): German Reich (German: *Deutsches Reich*) 1933–1943 later Greater German Reich (German: *Großdeutsches Reich*) 1943–1945

The 1918–1933 republic, which was also called German Reich, was ignored and denounced by the Nazis as a historical aberration. The name “Weimar Republic” was first used in 1929 after Hitler referred to the period as the “*Republik von Weimar*” (Republic of Weimar) at a rally in Munich with the term later becoming mainstream during the 1930s both within and outside Germany.^[3] The Nazis also contemptuously referred to it as “the System”.^[4]

A 1923 book entitled *Das Dritte Reich* by Arthur Moeller van den Bruck^[5] counted the medieval Holy Roman Empire as the first and the 1871–1918 monarchy as the second, which was then to be followed by a “reinvigorated” third one.

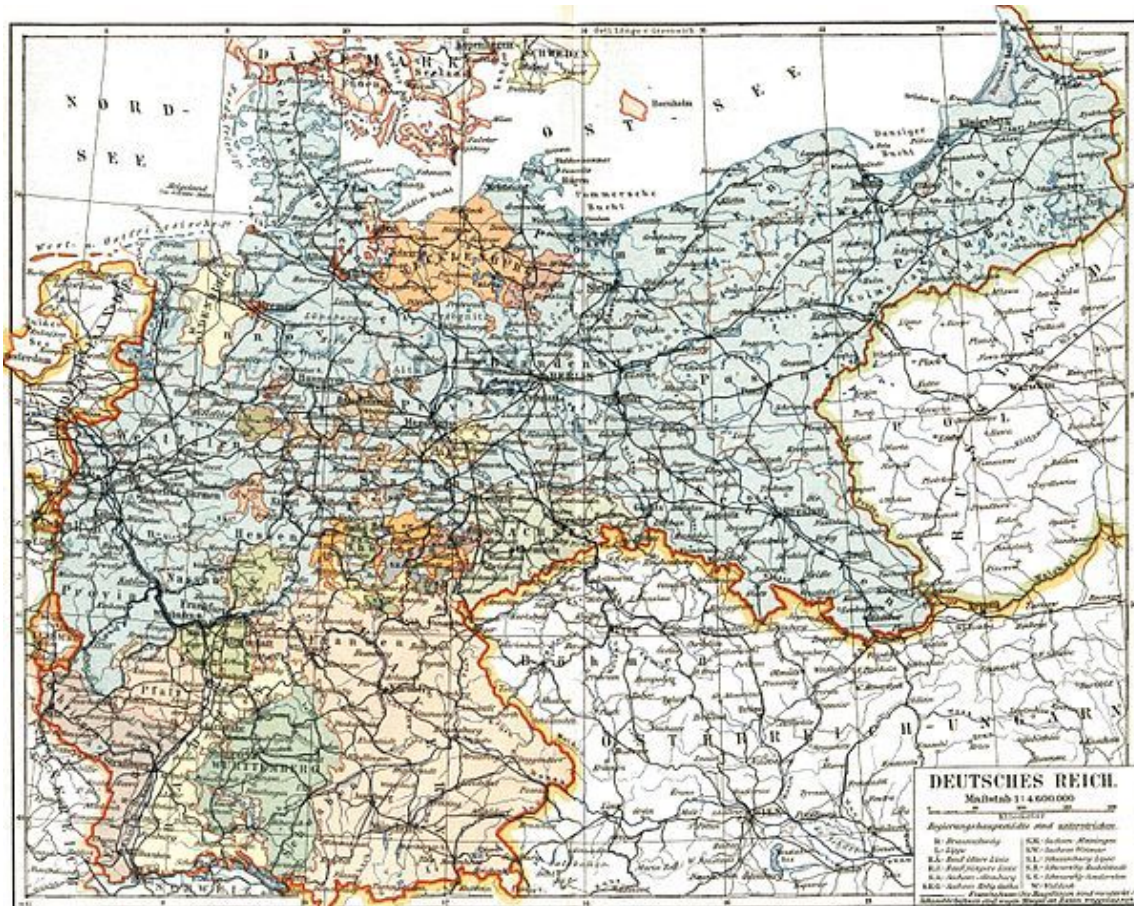
2.1 Term

The name *Deutsches Reich* was occasionally applied in contemporary maps to the Holy Roman Empire (911–1806), also called “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” from the 16th century onwards, though it constituted a supranational entity extending beyond the frontiers of the German language area (*Sprachraum*). The first attempt to establish a “German Empire” during the 1848 March Revolution by the Frankfurt Constitution ultimately failed: it was aborted by the monarchs of the German Confederation, especially by the King of Prussia, fighting German nationalism, which then was tied to the idea of popular sovereignty.

Following the *Anschluss* annexation of Austria in 1938, Nazi Germany informally named itself the **Greater German Reich** (German: *Großdeutsches Reich*). This name was made the official state name only during the last two

years (1943–45) of Nazi rule under **Adolf Hitler**,^[6] though the change was never proclaimed. After **World War II**, the denotation “German Reich” quickly fell into disuse in **Allied-occupied Germany**, however, the state’s continued existence remained a matter of debate (see below).

2.2 The difference between “Reich” and “Empire”



Deutsches Reich, 1893 map

See also: [Reich](#)

Though the German word *Reich* translates to the English word “empire” (it also translates to such words as “realm” or “domain”), this translation was not used throughout the full existence of the German Reich. Historically, only Germany from 1871 to 1918 — when Germany was under the rule of an emperor (*Kaiser*) — is known in English as the “German Empire” (*Deutsches Kaiserreich* in German historiography), while the term “German Reich” describes Germany from 1871 to 1945.^[2] As the literal translation “German Empire” denotes a monarchy, the term is used only in reference to Germany before the fall of the monarchies at the end of **World War I** in 1918.

After the **unification of Germany**, under the reign of the Prussian king **Wilhelm I** and his Chancellor **Otto von Bismarck**, the German states (e.g., the kingdoms of **Prussia**, **Bavaria**, and **Saxony**) were united, under imperial rule, by the Hohenzollern dynasty. On 18 January 1871, Wilhelm I was proclaimed German Emperor at the **Hall of Mirrors** in **Versailles**, the German Reich was officially declared *Deutsches Reich*, or “German Empire”,^[7] referring to the extinct Holy Roman Empire. On 14 April 1871, the Reichstag parliament passed the **Constitution of the German Empire** (*Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches*), which was published two days later.

However, originating from the **North German Confederation**, the Empire never comprised all “German” lands, excluding those **Cisleithanian** crown lands of **Austria-Hungary** which had been part of the German Confederation until 1865. The unification under Prussian leadership manifested Bismarck’s “Lesser German” solution of the **German question** after the **Austro-Prussian War** of 1866, realised with the support of his national liberal allies. On the other

hand, the German Reich of 1871 comprised extended Prussian territories with large non-German sections of the population, like Posen, West Prussia or Schleswig.

Before and during the events of World War I, the German state was called an “empire” in English and Wilhelm II was titled “His Imperial and Royal Majesty The German Emperor.” After the War and the abolition of the monarchy during the German Revolution of 1918–19, however, when Wilhelm was forced to abdicate, the official English name for Germany was the “German Reich”: *Reich* was left untranslated and no longer referred to an “empire” but, instead, took on the connotation of “Realm” or “State”. “German Reich” was used in legal documents and English-language international treaties — for example, the Kellogg–Briand Pact^[8] and the Geneva Conventions.^[9] If the term “Empire” had still been considered valid at this point, it would have been used on these documents instead of “Reich”.

Apart from official documents, post-World War I Germany was referred to as the “German Reich” — never as “The German Empire” — for example, by British politicians^[10]—and the word “Reich” was used untranslated by Allied prosecutors throughout the Nuremberg Trials, with “German Empire” only used to signify pre-1918 Germany.

That *Reich* was never translated to “Empire” after 1918 has to do with the lack of a precise equivalent in English. In German, *Reich* does not presuppose a monarchical form of government; but in English, the word “Empire” almost certainly does, even though the Latin word *imperium*, from which “empire” is derived, need not denote a monarchy. Old English had the word *rīc* which was cognate with *Reich*, but this word has long since fallen out of use, except perhaps in the compound “bishopric”.

2.2.1 End of World War II

On 8 May 1945, with the capitulation of the German armed forces, the supreme command of the Wehrmacht was handed over to the Allied Powers. The Allies refused to recognise Karl Dönitz as *Reichspräsident* or to recognise the legitimacy of his Flensburg government (so-called because it was based at Flensburg and controlled only a small area around the town) and, on 5 June 1945, the four powers signed the Berlin Declaration and assumed *de jure* supreme authority with respect to Germany.^[11] The declaration asserted the complete legal extinction of the Third Reich following death of Adolf Hitler on 30 April 1945, but the continued subsequent existence of a German national territory; although subject to the four signatory powers also asserting their authority to determine the future boundaries of Germany.

At the Potsdam Conference, Allied-occupied Germany was divided into British, French, American and Soviet occupation zones; while the Allied Powers exercised the state authority assumed by the Berlin Declaration in transferring the former eastern territories of the German Reich east of the Oder-Neisse line to the Republic of Poland and the Soviet Union.

2.2.2 Divided Germany

In its 1973 review of the previous year’s Basic Treaty between East and West Germany, the German Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) ruled that according to its Basic Law the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was partially identical with the German Reich and not merely its legal successor.^[12] The court further elaborated that the ‘partial identity’ of the FRG was limited to apply only within its current *de facto* territory; and hence the Federal Republic could not claim an exclusive mandate for the territory under the *de facto* government of the German Democratic Republic; “identity does not require exclusivity”. This was explained as being because the German Democratic Republic and the Polish- and USSR-occupied eastern territories were beyond FRG authority and because the Allied powers still had jurisdiction where “Germany as a whole” was concerned.

This claimed identity was however, contested by most other countries of the world. The three Western allies, the Soviet Union and most other Western countries regarded the German Reich as still being one nation — not synonymous with either the West or East German state but rather the two states in collective. Other countries tended to regard the German Reich to have been divided into two states. As of 1974, East Germany’s official stance was that the GDR was a new state that is German in nature, a successor of the German Empire,^[13] and that there were then two German states that were different nations.

2.2.3 Reunified Germany

When the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany between Germany and the wartime Allies was signed on 12 September 1990, there was no mention of the term *Deutsches Reich*, however the Allies paraphrased

the international legal personality of Germany as "Germany as a whole" in the English version of the text. Instead the **states of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany, FRG)** and the German Democratic Republic (**East Germany, GDR**) agreed to be bound by certain conditions which they had to ratify, one of which was the creation of a united Germany. On meeting these conditions under Article 7.2 "The United Germany [has] accordingly full sovereignty over its internal and external affairs."^[14]

Under Article 1 of the Treaty on Final Settlement, the new united, Germany committed itself to renouncing any further territorial claims beyond the boundaries of East Germany, West Germany and Berlin; "The united Germany has no territorial claims whatsoever against other states and shall not assert any in the future." Furthermore the Basic Law of the Federal Republic was required to be amended to state explicitly that full German unification had now been achieved, such that the new German state comprised the entirety of Germany, and that all constitutional mechanisms should be removed by which any territories outside those boundaries could otherwise subsequently be admitted; these amendments being bound by treaty not to be revoked. Article 23 of the Basic Law was repealed, closing off the possibility for any further states to apply for membership of the Federal Republic; while Article 146 was amended to state explicitly that the territory of the newly unified republic comprised the entirety of the German people; "This Basic Law, which since the achievement of the unity and freedom of Germany applies to the entire German people, shall cease to apply on the day on which a constitution freely adopted by the German people takes effect". This was confirmed in the 1990 rewording of the preamble; "Germans..have achieved the unity and freedom of Germany in free self-determination. This Basic Law thus applies to the entire German people." In place of the former Article 23 (under which the states of East Germany had been admitted), a new Article 23 embedded the accession of the Federal Republic to the European Union within the Basic Law; hence with the subsequent accession of Poland to the EU, the constitutional bar on pursuing any claim to territories beyond the **Oder-Neisse Line** was reinforced. In so far as the German Reich may be claimed to continue in existence as 'Germany as a whole', the **former eastern territories of Germany** in Poland and Russia are now definitively and permanently excluded from ever again being united within this Reich.

2.3 See also

- National colours of Germany
- Germany (disambiguation)
- **Greater Germanic Reich**, a conceptual entity that the Nazis planned to establish during World War II.

2.4 References

- [1] *Harper's magazine*, Volume 63. Pp. 593. The term "Reich" does not literally connote an empire as has been commonly assumed by English-speaking people, the term "*Kaiserreich*" literally denotes an empire – particularly a hereditary empire led by a literal **emperor**, though *Reich* has been used in German to denote the **Roman Empire** because it has a weak hereditary tradition. In the case of the German Empire, the official name was *Deutsches Reich* that is properly translated as "German Realm" because the official position of head of state in the constitution of the German Empire was officially a "presidency" of a confederation of German states led by the **King of Prussia** who would assume "the title of German Emperor" as referring to the **German people** but was not emperor of Germany as in an emperor of a state.
- [2] "Germany" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
- [3] Eva-Maria Schnurr (September 2014). "Der Name des Feindes: Warum heißt die erste deutsche Demokratie eigentlich "Weimarer Republik?"". 5/2014 (Der Spiegel - Geschichte 3 Hausmitteilung 137 Impressum ed.). *Der Spiegel*: 20.
- [4] Cornelia Schmitz-Berning: *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus*. 2. durchges. u. überarb. Aufl. Berlin 2007, ISBN 978-3-11-019549-1, pp. 597-598.
- [5] *The man who invented the Third Reich: the life and times of Arthur Moeller van den Bruck*. Npi Media Ltd. May 1, 1999. ISBN 978-0-75-091866-4.
- [6] Decree RK 7669 E of the Reichsminister and head of the Reich chancellery Hans Lammers, 26 June 1943.
- [7] "Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules of Law with respect to Collisions between Vessels". Brussels. 23 September 1910. — an example of a legal document in which Germany is officially referred to as "the German Empire"
- [8] "Full text of the Kellogg–Briand Pact". 27 August 1928. Archived from the original on 2012-05-09.

- [9] “Full text of the Geneva Convention”. 27 July 1929.
- [10] “Speech by British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain”. 17 March 1939.
- [11] *Declaration Regarding the Defeat of Germany and the Assumption of Supreme Authority by Allied Powers*, 5 June 1945
- [12] BVerfGE 36, 1: Verdict of the Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) regarding the East–West Basic Treaty — in German and in English, 31 July 1973
- [13] Donald M. McRae, *Canadian Yearbook of International Law 2005*, Vol. 43, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 2006, p. 431.
- [14] Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany. Updated: November 2003

2.5 External links

- Administrative history of the German Reich (German)
- German Reich map of states 1913 (300 dpi)

Chapter 3

Volksdeutsche

This article is about the origins and historical use of the term *Volksdeutsche*. For the article about some of the people this term describes, see [ethnic Germans](#).

In terminology of [Nazi Germany](#), *Volksdeutsche* (German pronunciation: [ˈfɔlkʂdɔʏtʃə]) were “Germans in terms of people or race”, regardless of [citizenship](#). The term is the nominalised plural of *volksdeutsch*, with *Volksdeutsche* denoting a singular female, and *Volksdeutsche(r)*, a singular male. The words *Volk* and *völkisch* conveyed the meanings of “folk” and “race” while adding the sense of superior civilisation and blood.^[1] These terms were used by [Nazis](#) to define Germans on the basis of their 'race' (although in modern terminology, this is their [ethnicity](#)) rather than [citizenship](#) and thus included [Germans](#) living beyond the borders of the [Reich](#), as long as they were not of Jewish origin.^[2] This is in contrast to [Imperial Germans](#) (*Reichsdeutsche*), German citizens living within Germany. The term also contrasts with the usage of the term *Auslandsdeutsche* (*Germans abroad/German expatriate*) since 1936, which generally denotes German citizens residing in other countries.^[3] The difference between 'Imperial German' and 'Ethnic German' was that those designated as being ethnic Germans did not have paperwork to prove their legal citizenship to work or vote within the country though some were from either Germany or lost territories of Germany taken during and after the First World War.

Volksdeutsche were further divided into 'racial' groups—a minority within a minority in a state—with a special cultural, social and historic development as described by [Nazis](#).^[4]

3.1 Origin of the term

According to the historian Doris Bergen, Adolf Hitler is reputed to have [coined](#) the definition of “Volksdeutsche” which appeared in a 1938 memorandum of the German Reich Chancellery. In that document, the 'Volksdeutsche' were defined as “races whose language and culture had German origins but who did not hold German citizenship.” After 1945 the Nazi laws of 1935 in Germany and their relevant paragraphs that referred to the National Socialist concepts of blood and race in connection with the concept of *volksdeutsch* were rescinded.

For [Hitler](#) and the other [ethnic Germans](#) of his time, the term “Volksdeutsche” also carried overtones of blood and race not captured in the common English translation “ethnic Germans”. According to German estimates in the 1930s, about 30 million Volksdeutsche and Auslandsdeutsche (German citizens residing abroad, see McKale 1977: *The Swastika Outside Germany*, p. 4) were living outside the Reich. A significant proportion of them were in Central Europe: Poland, Ukraine, the Baltic states, and Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia, where many were located in villages along the Danube, and Russia. Many of their ancestors had migrated to non-German-speaking European countries in the 18th century, invited by governments that wanted to repopulate areas decimated by the [Ottoman Empire](#) occupation and sometimes by disease.

The [Nazi](#) goal of expansion assigned the *Volksdeutsche* a special role in German plans, to bring them back to German citizenship and elevate them to power over the native populations in those areas. The Nazis detailed such goals in *Generalplan Ost*.^[5] In some areas, such as Poland, specific lists were compiled and people registered as ethnic Germans in the “Deutsche Volksliste”.

3.2 Historical background

Main article: [Ostsiedlung](#)

In the sixteenth century [Vasili III](#) invited small numbers of craftsmen, traders and professionals to settle in Russia from areas that would later become Germany so that Muscovy could exploit their skills. These settlers (many of whom intended to stay only temporarily) were generally confined to the [German Quarter](#) in [Moscow](#) (which also included Dutch, British and other western or northern European settlers whom the Russians came to indiscriminately refer to as “Germans”). They were only gradually allowed in other cities, so as to prevent the spread of alien ideas to the general population.

In his youth, [Peter the Great](#) spent much time in the 'German' quarter. When he became Tsar, he brought more German experts (and other foreigners) into Russia, and particularly into government service, in his attempts to westernise the empire. He also brought in German engineers to supervise the construction of the new city of [Saint Petersburg](#).

[Catherine the Great](#), herself ethnically German, invited Germanic farmers to immigrate and settle in Russian lands along the [Volga River](#). She guaranteed them the right to retain their language, religion and culture. Ethnic Germans were also sent by her in organised colonisation attempts aiming at Germanisation of conquered Polish areas.

Also in other areas with an ethnic German minority people of other than German descent assimilated with the ethnic German culture and formed then a part of the minority. Examples are people of Baltic and Scandinavian descent, who assimilated into the minority of the [Baltic Germans](#). Jews of [Posen province](#), [Galicia](#), [Bukovina](#) and [Bohemia](#), with their [Yiddish](#) culture derived in part from their German heritage, often mingled into the ethnic German culture, thus forming part of the various ethnic German minorities. But anti-Semitic Nazis later rejected Jewish ethnic Germans and all Jewish German citizens as 'racially' German.

[Frederick the Great](#) (reigned 1740–1786) settled around 300,000 colonists in the eastern provinces of Prussia, acquired in the [First Partition of Poland](#) of 1772, with the intention of replacing the Polish nobility. He treated the Poles with contempt and likened the “slovenly Polish trash” in newly occupied West Prussia to [Iroquois](#), the historic [Native American](#) confederacy based in the state of New York.^{[6][7]}

Prussia encouraged a second round of colonisation with the goal of Germanisation after 1832.^[8] Prussia passed laws to encourage Germanisation of the [Prussian Partition](#) including the provinces of [Posen](#) and [West Prussia](#) in the late 19th century. The Prussian Settlement Commission relocated 154,000 colonists, including locals.

3.2.1 Treaty of Versailles

Main article: [Treaty of Versailles](#)

The reconstitution of Poland following the [Treaty of Versailles](#) (1919) made ethnic German minorities of some Prussian provinces of the German Empire citizens of the Polish nation state. Ethnic German inhabitants of provinces of the dissolved [Austro-Hungarian Empire](#), such as [Bukovina Germans](#), [Danube Swabians](#), [Sudeten Germans](#) and [Transylvanian Saxons](#), became citizens of newly established Slavic or Magyar nation-states and of Romania. Tensions between the new administration and the ethnic German minority arose in the [Polish Corridor](#). The [Austrian Germans](#) also found themselves not allowed to join Germany as [German Austria](#) was strictly forbidden to join Germany as well as the name “German Austria” was forbidden so the name was changed back to just “Austria” and the [First Austrian Republic](#) was created in 1919.

3.3 The Nazi era before World War II

During the [Nazi](#) years, the German Nazis used the term “[Volksdeutsche](#)”, by which they meant racially German since they believed in a German 'race' or 'Volk', to refer to foreign nationals of some German ethnicity living in countries newly occupied by [Nazi Germany](#) or the Soviet Union. Prior to [World War II](#), more than 10 million ethnic Germans lived in Central and Eastern Europe. They constituted an important minority far into [Russia](#). Because of widespread assimilation some people whom the Nazis called Volksdeutsche could no longer speak German and in fact were culturally regionalized as Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, etc.



Entry to Volksdeutsche office in Kraków 1940.

3.3.1 Pre-war relations with the Nazis

In 1931, prior to its rise to power, the Nazi party established the *Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP/AO* (Foreign Organisation of the Nazi Party), whose task it was to disseminate Nazi propaganda among the ethnic German minorities viewed as *Volksdeutsche* in Nazi ideology. In 1936, the government set up the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (Ethnic Germans' Liaison Office), commonly known as VoMi, under the jurisdiction of the SS as the liaison bureau. It was headed by SS-Obergruppenführer Werner Lorenz.

In 1936 the Nazis set up an office to act as a contact for the foreign ethnic Germans. According to the historian Valdis Lumans,

"[one of Himmler's goals was] centralising control over the myriad of groups and individuals inside the Reich promoting the *Volksdeutsche* cause. Himmler did not initiate the process but rather discovered it in progress and directed it to its conclusion and to his advantage. His principal instrument in this effort was an office from outside the SS, a Nazi party organ, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (VoMi), translated as the Ethnic German Liaison Office."^[9]

3.3.2 Internal propaganda

Nazi propaganda used the existence of ethnic Germans who they called *Volksdeutsche* in foreign lands before and during the war, to help justify the aggression of Nazi Germany. The annexation of Poland was presented as necessary to protect the ethnic German minorities there.^[10] Massacres of ethnic Germans, such as *Bloody Sunday*, or alleged atrocities, were used in such propaganda, and the film *Heimkehr* drew on such putative events as the rescue of *Volksdeutsche* by the arrival of German tanks.^[11] *Heimkehr*'s introduction explicitly states that hundreds of thousands of Poles of German ethnicity suffered as the characters in the film did.^[12]

Main article: *Heimkehr*

Menschen im Sturm reprised *Heimkehr*'s effort to justify the invasion of Slavonia, using many of the same atrocities.^[13] In *The Red Terror*, a Baltic German is able to avenge her family's deaths, but commits suicide after, unable to live with meaning in the Soviet Union.^[14] *Flüchtlinge* depicted the sufferings of Volga German refugees in Manchuria, and how a heroic blond leader saved them; it was the first movie to win the state prize.^[15] *Friesennot* depicted the suffering of a village of Volga Germans in the Soviet Union;^[16] it also depicted the murder of a young woman for an affair with a Russian—in accordance with Nazi principle of *Rassenschande*—as an ancient German custom.^[17]

Sexual contact between what the Nazis viewed as different 'races' followed by remorse and guilt was also featured in *Die goldene Stadt*, where the Sudeten German heroine faces not persecution but the allure of the big city;^[18] when she succumbs, in defiance of blood and soil, she is seduced and abandoned by a Czech, and such a relationship leads to her drowning herself.^[19]

3.3.3 Collaboration with the Nazis

Main article: *Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz*

Before and during World War II, some ethnic Germans gathered around local Nazi organizations (sponsored financially by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Third Reich),^{[20][21]} actively supported the Nazis in countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. During the social and economic tensions of the Great Depression, some had begun to feel aggrieved with their minority status. They participated in espionage, sabotage and other Fifth column means in their countries of origin, trained and commanded by *Abwehr*.^[22] In November 1938 Nazi Germany organized German paramilitary units made out German minority members in Polish Pomerania that were to engage in diversion, sabotage as well as political murder and ethnic cleansing upon German invasion of Poland.^[23] Reich intelligence was actively recruiting ethnic Germans and the Nazi secret service "*SicherheitsDienst*" (SD) was forming them as early as October 1938 into armed unit that were to serve Nazi Germany.^[24] Historian Matthias Fiedler typified ethnic German collaborationists as former "nobodies" whose major occupation was the expropriation of Jewish property.^[25] Heinrich Himmler remarked that whatever objections ethnic Germans might have against serving in the Waffen-SS, they would be forced into conscription in any case.^[26] According to head of recruitment for the Waffen SS, Gottlob Berger, no one in Germany or elsewhere cared for what happened with the ethnic Germans anyway, making forced recruitment easy to force upon ethnic German communities.^[27]

Among the indigenous populations in the Nazi-occupied lands, *Volksdeutsche* became a term of ignominy.



Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz Bromberg (Bydgoszcz), 1939.

During the early years of the Second World War (i.e., before the US entered the war), a small number of Americans of German origin returned to Germany; generally they were immigrants or children of immigrants, rather than descendants of migrations more distant in time. Some of these enlisted and fought in the German army.

3.4 During World War II



Poles of German ethnicity decorated Golden Party Badge by Adolf Hitler in Berlin after Invasion of Poland in 1939. From left: Ludwig Wolff head of Deutscher Volksverband from Łódź, Otto Ullitz from Katowice, Gauleiter Josef Wagner, Mayor Rudolf Wiesner from Bielsko-Biała, Obergruppenführer Werner Lorenz, senator Erwin Hasbach from Ciechocinek, Gero von Gersdorff from Wielkopolska, Weiss from Jarocin.



Arthur Greiser welcoming the millionth resettler of German ethnicity during the "Heim ins Reich" action from Central and Eastern Europe to occupied Poland - March 1944.

Ethnic Germans throughout Europe benefited financially during World War II from the Nazi policies of genocide and ethnic cleansing, and profited from the expulsion and murder of their non-German neighbors.^[28] throughout Eastern Europe. For example, in Ukraine the *Volksdeutsche* directly participated in the Holocaust and were involved in deportation of local farmers and their families; *Volksdeutsche* figures like Arthur Boss from Odessa (Bebel's right hand man) or Becker brothers became integral part of Nazi Holocaust machine.^[29]

3.4.1 'Volksdeutsche' in German-occupied western Poland

In September 1939 in German occupied Poland, an armed ethnic German militia called *Selbstschutz* (Self-Defence) was created. It organised the mass murder of Polish elites in Operation Tannenberg. At the beginning of 1940, the *Selbstschutz* organization was disbanded, and its members transferred to various units of the SS, Gestapo and the German police. Throughout the invasion of Poland, some ethnic German minority groups assisted Nazi Germany in the war effort. They committed sabotage, diverted regular forces and committed numerous atrocities against civilian population.^{[30][31]}

After Germany occupied western Poland, it established a central registration bureau, called the German People's List (*Deutsche Volksliste*, DVL), whereby Poles of German ethnicity were registered as *Volksdeutsche*. The German occupants encouraged such registration, in many cases forcing it or subjecting Poles of German ethnicity to terror assaults if they refused.^[32] Those who joined this group were given benefits, including better food as well as a better social status.

The *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* organised large-scale looting of property and redistributed goods to the *Volksdeutsche*. They were given apartments, workshops, farms, furniture, and clothing confiscated from Jewish Poles and Poles of Polish ethnicity. In turn, hundreds of thousands of the *Volksdeutsche* joined the German forces, either willingly or under compulsion.

During World War II, Polish citizens of German ancestry, who often identified with the Polish nation, were confronted with the dilemma of registering in the *Deutsche Volksliste*. Many ethnic Germans had families who had lived in Poland for centuries; even the more recent immigrants had arrived 30 years or more before the war. They faced the choice of registering and being regarded as traitors by other Poles, or not signing and being treated by the Nazi occupation as traitors to the Germanic "race". Polish Silesian Catholic Church authorities, led by bishop Stanisław Adamski and with agreement from the Polish Government in Exile, advised Poles to sign up to the *Volksliste* in order to avoid atrocities and mass murder that happened in other parts of the country.^[33]

In occupied Poland, the status of *Volksdeutscher* gave many privileges, but one big disadvantage: *Volksdeutsche* were subject to conscription into the German army. In occupied Pomerania, the Gauleiter of the Danzig-West Prussia region Albert Forster issued a secret order which mandated a creation of a list of people who were considered to be of German ethnicity, in 1941. Since the number of supposedly ethnic Germans who signed up voluntarily was insignificant by 1942, in February of that year Forster made signing of the *Volksliste* mandatory and empowered local police and other authorities to employ various methods, including physical force and threats, to implement the decree. Consequently, the initially insignificant number of signatories rose to almost a million persons, or about 55% of the population by 1944.^[34]

The special case of Polish Pomerania, where terror against civilians was particularly intense, and where, unlike in rest of occupied Poland, signing of the list was mandatory for many people, was recognised by the Polish Underground State and other anti-Nazi resistance movements, which tried to explain the situation to other Poles in underground publications.^[34]

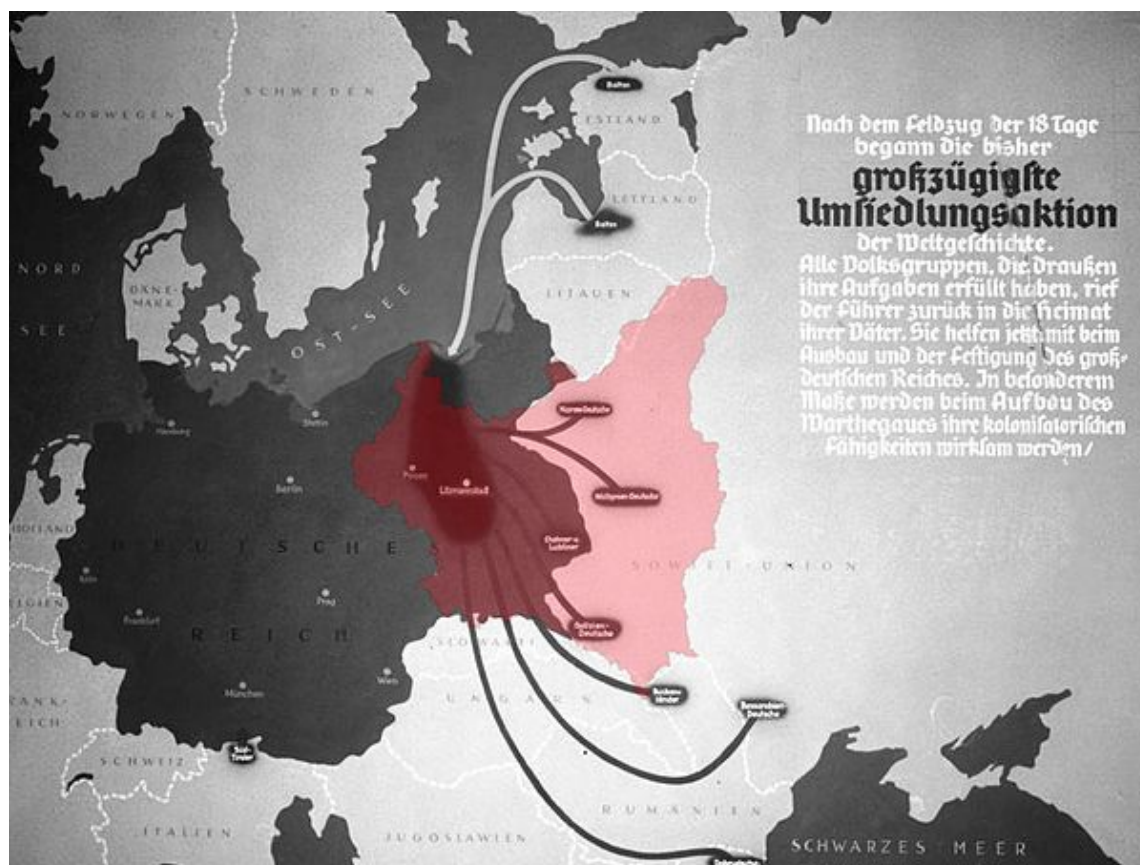
The *Deutsche Volksliste* categorised non-Jewish Poles of German ethnicity into one of four categories:^{[35][36]}

- Category I: Persons of German descent committed to the Reich before 1939.
- Category II: Persons of German descent who had remained passive.
- Category III: Persons of German descent who had become partly "Polonised", e.g., through marrying a Polish partner or through working relationships (especially Silesians and Kashubians).
- Category IV: Persons of German ancestry who had become "Polonised" but were supportive of "Germanisation".



Nur für Deutsche (Eng. "Only for Germans") on the tram number 8 in occupied Kraków.

Volksdeutsche of statuses 1 and 2 in the Polish areas annexed by Germany numbered 1,000,000, and Nos. 3 and 4 numbered 1,700,000. In the **General Government** there were 120,000 Volksdeutsche. Volksdeutsche of Polish ethnic origins were treated by the Poles with special contempt, but were also committing high treason according to Polish law.



Origin of ethnic German colonisers, resettled into German-annexed and occupied Poland during "Heim ins Reich" action. Poster superimposed with the red outline of Poland missing from the original print.

Because of actions by some Volksdeutsche and particularly the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany, after the end of the war, the Polish authorities tried many Volksdeutsche for high treason. In the postwar period, many other ethnic Germans were expelled to the west and forced to leave everything. In post-war Poland, the word *Volksdeutsche* is regarded as an insult, synonymous with "traitor".

In some cases, individuals consulted the Polish resistance first, before signing the Volksliste. There were Volksdeutsche who played important roles in intelligence activities of the Polish resistance, and were at times the primary source of information for the *Allies*. Particularly in Polish Pomerania and Polish Silesia, many of the people who were forced to sign the Volksliste played crucial roles in the anti-Nazi underground, which was noted in a memo to the *Polish Government in Exile* which stated "*In Wielkopolska there's bitter hatred of the Volksdeutsche while in Silesia and Polish Pomerania it's the opposite, the secret organization depends in large measure on the Volksdeutsche*" (the memo referred to those of Category III, not I and II).^[34] In the turmoil of the postwar years, the *Communist* government did not consider this sufficient mitigation. It prosecuted many double-agent Volksdeutsche and sentenced some to death.

3.4.2 Volksdeutsche in the territories annexed by the Soviet Union in 1939–1940

Further information: Nazi-Soviet population transfers, Heim ins Reich, and Expulsion of Poles by Nazi Germany

The Soviet invasion of *Finland*, which had been covertly ceded under the *Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact* secret protocols, created domestic problems for Hitler.^[37] Supporting the Soviet invasion became one of the most ideologically difficult aspects of the countries' relationship.^[38] The secret protocols caused Hitler to hurriedly evacuate ethnic German families, who had lived in Finland and the Baltic countries for centuries and now classified as Volksdeutsche, while officially condoning the invasions.^{[39][40]} When the three Baltic countries, not knowing about the secret protocols, sent letters protesting the Soviet invasions to Berlin, Ribbentrop returned them.^[41]



Volksdeutsche resettling after the Soviet occupation of Central and East-
ern Poland



Volksdeutsche resettling after the Soviet occupation of Bukovina and Bessarabia
in 1940 [42]



Resettled Baltic Germans take possession of their new homes in *Warthegau*
after the forced abandonment by the legitimate Polish owners.



Baltic German settlers are shown around their Nazi-appropriated farm-
house in occupied Poland in November 1939 during action "*Heim ins Reich*"

In August 1940, Soviet Foreign minister Molotov told the Germans that, with the government change, they could close down their Baltic consulates by 1 September.^[41] The Soviet annexations in Romania caused further strain.^[41] While Germany had given the Soviets *Bessarabia* in the secret protocols, it had not given them *North Bukovina*.^[41] Germany wanted guarantees of the safety of property of ethnic Germans, security for the 125,000 Volksdeutsche in Bessarabia and North Bukovina, and reassurance that the train tracks carrying Romanian oil would be left alone.^[40]

In October 1940, Germany and the Soviet Union negotiated about the Volksdeutsche in Soviet-occupied territories and their property.^[43] Instead of permitting full indemnification, the Soviets put restrictions on the wealth that the Volksdeutsche could take with them and limited the totals that the Soviets would apply to the Reich's clearing accounts.^[44] The parties discussed total compensation of between 200 million and 350 million *Reichsmarks* for the Volksdeutsche, while the Soviets requested 50 million Reichsmarks for their property claims in German-occupied territories.^[45] The two nations reached general agreement on German shipments of 10.5-cm flak cannons, gold, machinery and other items.^[45]

On 10 January 1941, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the **German–Soviet Border and Commercial Agreement** to settle all of the open disputes which the Soviets had argued.^[46] The agreement covered protected migration to Germany within two and a half months of *Volksdeutsche*, and similar migration to the Soviet Union of ethnic Russians, Baltic and “White Russian” “nationals” from German-held territories.^[47] In many cases, the resulting **population transfers** resulted in resettlement of *Volksdeutsche* on land previously held by ethnic Poles or Jews in now Nazi-occupied territories. The agreement formally defined the border between Germany and the Soviet Union areas between the **Igorka River** and the **Baltic Sea**.^[47]

3.4.3 After the German invasion of the USSR

Further information: **Operation Barbarossa**

After the **Russian Revolution of 1917**, the government granted the **Volga Germans** an autonomous republic. **Joseph Stalin** abolished the **Volga German ASSR** after **Operation Barbarossa**, the German invasion of the USSR. Most of Soviet Germans in the USSR were deported to **Siberia**, **Kazakhstan**, and **Central Asia** by Decree of the **Supreme Soviet of the USSR** of August 28, 1941, and from the beginning of 1942 those Soviet Germans who were deemed suitable for hard work (men aged from 15 to 55 and women from 16 to 45) were mobilised for forced labour into *Working columns* where they lived in a prison-like environment, and sometimes, together with regular inmates, were put in prison camps. Hundreds of thousands died or became incapacitated due to the harsh conditions.

3.4.4 Volksdeutsche in Hungary

A significant portion of *Volksdeutsche* in Hungary joined the **SS**, which was a pattern repeated also in Romania (with 54,000 locals serving in the **SS** by the end of 1943).^[49] The majority of 200,000 *Volksdeutsche* from the area of Danube who served with the **SS** were from Hungary. As early as 1942, some 18,000 Hungarian Germans joined the **SS**.^[49] In the diaspora, they have been called **Danube Swabians**. After World War II, approximately 185,000 *Volksdeutsche* fled or were expelled from the region in 1946–48 by the Soviet-installed communist government of Hungary.^[49] They were called 'Svabo' by their Serbian, Hungarian, Croatian, and Romanian neighbors, especially in the area now part of the **Vojvodina** in Serbia. Other **ethnic Germans** in Hungary during World War II were **Transylvanian Saxons**. Today they have virtually all become assimilated or left the region.

3.4.5 Volksdeutsche in Romania

After Romania acquired parts of Soviet Ukraine, the Germans there came under the authority of the **Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle**, which deployed **SS** personnel to several settlements. They eventually contained German mayors, farms, schools and ethnic German paramilitary groups functioning as police called *Selbstschutz* (“Self-protection”). German colonists and *Selbstschutz* forces engaged in extensive acts of **ethnic cleansing**, massacring **Jewish** and **Roma** populations.

In the German colony of Shonfeld, Romas were burned in farms. During the winter of 1941/1942, German *Selbstschutz* units participated in the shooting, together with **Ukrainian People's Militia** and Romanian **gendarmes**, of some 18,000 **Jews**. In the camp of **Bogdanovka**, tens of thousands of Jews were subject to mass shootings, barn burnings and killing by hand grenades.

Heinrich Himmler was sufficiently impressed by the *Volksdeutsche* communities and the work of the *Selbstschutz* to order that these methods be copied in Ukraine.^[50]

3.4.6 'Volksdeutsche' in Serbia and Croatia

In the former Yugoslavia, the **7th SS Volunteer Mountain Division Prinz Eugen** was formed with about 50,000 ethnic Germans from the Banat region of **Serbia**. It was conspicuous in its operations against the **Yugoslav Partisans** and civilian population. About 100,000 ethnic Germans from the Nazi-conquered former Yugoslavia joined the German **Wehrmacht** and **Waffen-SS**, the majority conscripted involuntarily as judged by the **Nuremberg Trials**. Yet “[a]fter the initial rush of *Volksdeutsche* to join, voluntary enlistments tapered off, and the new unit did not reach division size. Therefore, in August 1941, the **SS** discarded the voluntary approach, and after a favourable judgement from the **SS** court in Belgrade, imposed a mandatory military obligation on all *Volksdeutsche* in Serbia-Banat, the first of

its kind for non-Reich Germans.”^[51] In the former Yugoslavia a majority of ethnic Germans became members of the *Schwäbisch-Deutscher Kulturbund* (Shwovish cultural association), and reprisals on this group by Tito’s partisans resulted in many immediate revenge killings in 1944 and incarceration of approximately 150,000 ethnic Germans in 1945.^[52]

3.5 Expulsion and exodus from Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the war



Sudeten Germans expelled after World War II

Main article: [Flight and expulsion of Germans \(1944–50\)](#)

Most ethnic Germans fled or were **expelled** from European countries (Czechia, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary) under the **Potsdam Agreement** from 1945 to 1948 towards the end and after the war. Both those who became ethnic Germans by registering in the **Deutsche Volksliste** and **Reichsdeutsche** retained German citizenship during the years of Allied military occupation, after the establishment of **East Germany** and **West Germany** in 1949, and later in the reunified Germany. In 1953 the **Federal Republic of Germany** - by its **Federal Expellee Law** - naturalised many more East European nationals of German ethnicity, who neither were German citizens nor had enrolled in any 'Volksliste', but had been stranded as refugees in West Germany and fled or were expelled due to their German or alleged German ethnicity.

An estimated 12 million people fled or were expelled from the Soviet Union and non-German-speaking Central Europe, many of them being 'Volksdeutsche'.^{[53][54][55][56]} Most left the Soviet-occupied territories of Central and Eastern Europe; they comprised the largest migration of any European people in modern history.^{[54][57]} The then three **Allies** had agreed to the expulsions during negotiations in the midst of war. The western powers hoped to avoid ethnic Germans being an issue again in Central and Eastern Europe.^{[58][59][60]} The three Allies at the Conference of Potsdam considered the “transfer” of “German populations” from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary an effort to be undertaken (see article 12 of the **Potsdam Agreement**), although they asked a halt because of the inflicted burden for the Allies to feed and house the destitute expellees and to share that burden among the Allies. France, which was

not represented in Potsdam, rejected the decision of the Three of Potsdam and did not absorb expellees in its zone of occupation. The three Allies had to accept the reality on the ground, since expulsions of Volksdeutsche and Central and Eastern European nationals of German or alleged German ethnicity who never had enrolled as Volksdeutsche, was going on already.

Local authorities forced most of the remaining ethnic Germans to leave between 1945 and 1950. Remnants of the ethnic German community survive in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. A significant ethnic German community has continued in Siebenbürgen (Transylvania) in Romania and in Oberschlesien (Upper Silesia) but most of it migrated to West Germany throughout the 1980s. There are also remnant German populations near Mukachevo in western Ukraine.^[61]

3.6 Legacy

The term is generally avoided today due to its usage by the Nazis.

Instead, ethnic Germans of foreign citizenship living outside of Germany are called “Deutsche Minderheit” (meaning “German minority”), or names more closely associated with their earlier places of residence, such as *Wolgadeutsche* or Volga Germans, the ethnic Germans living in the Volga basin in Russia; and *Baltic Germans*, who generally called themselves Balts, and *Estländer* in Estonia. They were relocated to German-occupied Poland during World War II by an agreement between Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin, and most were expelled to the West after the war, under an allied accord called the Potsdam Agreement.

3.7 See also

- Areas annexed by Nazi Germany
- Germans Abroad
- Goralenvolk
- Selbstschutz
- Imperial Germans, for a discussion of the different concepts and the shift of meaning between them.
- Fifth column
- Heimatvertriebene
- Umvolkung
- Flight and expulsion of Germans (1944–1950)
- Demographic estimates of the flight and expulsion of Germans
- World War II evacuation and expulsion
- Pursuit of Nazi collaborators
- Nur für Deutsche
- Brandenburgers

3.8 Notes

[1] As to older meanings of *völkisch* see *Völkisch movement*.

[2] The Greenwood Encyclopedia of International Relations: S-Z Cathal J. Nolan, page 1793, 2002

[3] Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus by Cornelia Schmitz-Berning 1998, page 651

- [4] Himmler's Auxiliaries: The Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle and the German National Minorities of Europe, 1933-1945 by Valdis O. Lumans 1993, page 23
- [5] Bergen, Doris. "The Nazi Concept of 'Volksdeutsche' and the Exacerbation of Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, 1939-45", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Oct. 1994), pp. 569-582
- [6] Ritter, Gerhard (1974), *Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 179–180, ISBN 0-520-02775-2, It has been estimated that during his reign 300,000 individuals settled in Prussia.... While the Prussian Settlement Commission established in the Bismarck era could in the course of two decades bring no more than 11,957 families to the eastern territories, Frederick settled a total of 57,475.... It increased the German character of the population in the monarchy's provinces to a very significant degree.... in West Prussia where he wished to drive out the Polish nobility and bring as many of their large estates as possible into German hands.
- [7] "In fact from Hitler to Hans we find frequent references to Poles and Jews as Indians. This, too, was a long standing trope. It can be traced back to Frederick the Great, who likened the 'slovenly Polish trash' in newly' reconquered West Prussia to Iroquois". David Blackbourn, James N. Retallack, *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-speaking Central Europe, 1860-1930*, University of Toronto, 2007
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- [10] Cinzia Romani, *Tainted Goddesses: Female Film Stars of the Third Reich* p145 ISBN 0-9627613-1-1
- [11] Robert Edwin Hertzstein, *The War That Hitler Won* p289 ISBN 0-399-11845-4
- [12] Robert Edwin Hertzstein, *The War That Hitler Won* p287 ISBN 0-399-11845-4
- [13] Robert Edwin Hertzstein, *The War That Hitler Won* p292-3 ISBN 0-399-11845-4
- [14] Erwin Leiser, *Nazi Cinema* pp 44-5 ISBN 0-02-570230-0
- [15] Erwin Leiser, *Nazi Cinema* p29-30 ISBN 0-02-570230-0
- [16] Erwin Leiser, *Nazi Cinema* p39-40 ISBN 0-02-570230-0
- [17] Richard Grunberger, *The 12-Year Reich*, p 384, ISBN 0-03-076435-1
- [18] Cinzia Romani, *Tainted Goddesses: Female Film Stars of the Third Reich* p86 ISBN 0-9627613-1-1
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- [38] Philbin III 1994, p. 129
- [39] Shirer 1990, p. 665
- [40] Ericson 1999, p. 134
- [41] Shirer 1990, p. 794
- [42] Among the resettled people were the parents of Germany’s former president Horst Köhler
- [43] Ericson 1999, p. 144
- [44] Ericson 1999, p. 138
- [45] Ericson 1999, p. 149
- [46] Ericson 1999, p. 150
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- [48] *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich: K.J.Bade, 2007, ss. 1082–1083.
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3.11 External links

- Hitler's Fifth column in Czechoslovakia
- Hitler's Fifth column in Croatia

Chapter 4

Lebensraum



The Greater Germanic Reich, to be realised with the policies of Lebensraum, had boundaries derived from the plans of the Generalplan Ost, the state administration, and the Schutzstaffel (SS).^[1]

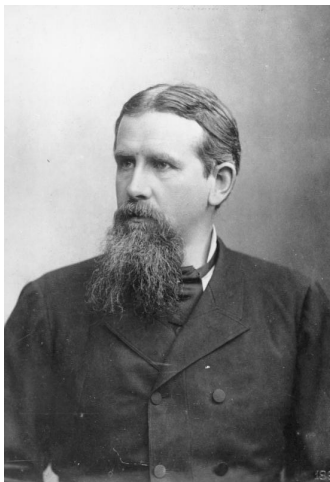
The German concept of **Lebensraum** (German pronunciation: ['le:bəns,ʁaʊm], English: “living space”) refers to policies and practices of **settler colonialism** which proliferated in Germany from the 1890s to the 1940s. First popularized around 1901,^[2] **Lebensraum** became a geopolitical goal of **Imperial Germany** in **World War I** (1914–1918) originally, as the core element of the **Septemberprogramm** of territorial expansion.^[3] The most extreme form of this ideology was supported by the **Nazi Party** (NSDAP) and **Nazi Germany** until the end of World War II.^[4]

Following **Adolf Hitler's** rise to power **Lebensraum** became an ideological principle of **Nazism**, and provided justification for the German territorial expansion into East-Central Europe.^[5] The Nazi **Generalplan Ost** policy (the Master Plan for the East) was based on its tenets. It stipulated that most of the indigenous populations of Eastern Europe

would have to be removed permanently (either through mass deportation to Siberia, death, or enslavement) including Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and other Slavic nations considered racially inferior and non-Aryan. The Nazi government aimed at repopulating these lands with Germanic colonists in the name of *Lebensraum* during World War II and thereafter.^{[6][7][8]} The entire populations were to be decimated by starvation, allowing for their own agricultural surplus to feed Germany.^[6]

Hitler's strategic program for world domination was based on the belief in the power of *Lebensraum*, pursued by a racially superior society.^[7] People deemed to be part of inferior races, within the territory of *Lebensraum* expansion, were subjected to expulsion or destruction.^[7] The eugenics of *Lebensraum* assumed the right of the German Aryan master race (*Herrenvolk*) to remove indigenous people they considered to be of inferior racial stock (*Untermenschen*) in the name of their own living space.^[7] Nazi Germany also supported other 'Aryan' nations' pursuing their own *Lebensraum*, including Fascist Italy's *Spazio vitale*.^[9]

4.1 Origins



The German geographer and ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) coined the word *Lebensraum* (1901) as a term of human geography, which the Nazis adopted as a by-word for the aggressive territorial expansion of Germany into the Greater Germanic Reich



The Swedish political scientist Johan Rudolf Kjellén (1864–1922) interpreted Friedrich Ratzel's ethnogeographic term, *Lebensraum* as a geopolitical term, which the Nazis applied to justify German warfare
See also: *Ostsiedlung*

In the 19th century, the term *Lebensraum* was used by the German biologist, Oscar Peschel, in his 1860 review of Darwin's *Origins of Species* (1859).^[10] In 1897, the ethnographer and geographer Friedrich Ratzel in his book *Politische Geographie* applied the word *Lebensraum* ("living space"),^[2] to describe physical geography as a factor that influences human activities in developing into a society.^[11] In 1901, Ratzel extended his thesis in his essay titled "Lebensraum."^[12]

During World War I, the British blockade of trade to Germany caused food shortages in Germany and resources from Germany's African colonies were unable to help; this caused support to rise during the war for a *Lebensraum* that would expand Germany eastward into Russia to gain control of resources to stop the food shortages.^[13] In the period between the First and the Second world wars (1919–39) German nationalists adopted the term *Lebensraum* to their

politics for the establishment of a Germanic colonial-empire like the **British Empire**, the **French Empire**, and the empire that the U.S. established with the west-ward expansion of the "**American frontier**", which was advocated and justified by the ideology of **Manifest Destiny** (1845).^[14] Ratzel said that the development of a people into a society was primarily influenced by their geographic situation (habitat), and that a society who successfully adapted to one geographic territory would naturally and logically expand the boundaries of their nation into another territory.^[12] Yet, to resolve German overpopulation, Ratzel said that Imperial Germany (1871–1918) required overseas colonies to which surplus Germans ought to emigrate.^[15]

Geopolitics

In the event, Friedrich Ratzel's metaphoric concept of society as an organism — which grows and shrinks in logical relation to its *Lebensraum* (habitat) — proved especially influential upon the Swedish political scientist and conservative politician **Johan Rudolf Kjellén** (1864–1922) who interpreted that biological metaphor as a geopolitical natural-law.^[16] In the political monograph *Schweden* (1917; *Sweden*), Kjellén coined the terms *geopolitik* (the conditions and problems of a state that arise from its geographic territory), *æcopolitik* (the economic factors that affect the power of the state), and *demopolitik* (the social problems that arise from the racial composition of the state) to explain the political particulars to be considered for the successful administration and governing of a state. Moreover, he had great intellectual influence upon the politics of Imperial Germany, especially with *Staten som livsform* (1916; *The State as a Life-form*) an earlier political-science book read by the society of Imperial Germany, for whom the concept of *geopolitik* acquired an ideological definition unlike the original, human-geography definition.^[17]

Kjellén's geopolitical interpretation of the *Lebensraum* concept was adopted, expanded, and adapted to the politics of Germany, by the publicists of imperialism, such as the militarist General **Friedrich von Bernhardi** (1849–1930) and the political geographer and proponent of geopolitics **Karl Ernst Haushofer** (1869–1946). In *Deutschland und der Nächste Krieg* (1911; *Germany and the Next War*), General von Bernhardi developed Friedrich Ratzel's *Lebensraum* concept as a racial struggle for living space; explicitly identified Eastern Europe as the source of a new, national habitat for the German people; and said that the next war [the Second World War] would be expressly for acquiring *Lebensraum* — all in fulfillment of the “biological necessity” to protect German racial supremacy. That vanquishing the Slavic and the Latin races was necessary, because “without war, inferior or decaying races would easily choke the growth of healthy, budding elements” of the German race — thus, the war for *Lebensraum* was a necessary means of defending Germany against cultural stagnation and the racial degeneracy of **miscegenation**.^[18]

Racist ideology

In the national politics of Weimar Germany, the geopolitical usage of *Lebensraum* is credited to Karl Ernst Haushofer and his Institute of Geopolitics, in Munich, especially the ultra-nationalist interpretation to avenge military defeat in the First World War (1914–18), and reverse the dictates of the **Treaty of Versailles** (1919), which reduced Germany geographically, economically, and militarily. The politician Adolf Hitler said that the **National Socialist** (Nazi) geopolitics of “inevitable expansion” would reverse overpopulation, provide natural resources, and uphold German national honor.^[19] In *Mein Kampf* (1925; *My Struggle*), Hitler presented his conception of *Lebensraum* as the philosophic basis for the Greater Germanic Reich who were destined to colonize Eastern Europe — especially Ukraine in **Soviet Russia** — and so resolve the problems of overpopulation, and that the European states had to accede to his geopolitical demands.

The Nazi usages of the term *Lebensraum* were explicitly racist, to justify the **mystical** right of the “racially superior” **Germanic peoples** (*Herrenvolk*) to fulfil their cultural destiny at the expense of “racially inferior” peoples (*Untermenschen*), such as the Slavs of Poland, Russia, Ukraine, and the other non-Germanic peoples of “**the East**”.^[3] Based upon Johan Rudolf Kjellén's geopolitical interpretation of Friedrich Ratzel's human-geography term, the **Nazi régime** (1933–45) established *Lebensraum* as the racist rationale of the foreign policy by which they began the **Second World War**, on 1 September 1939, in effort to realise the **Greater Germanic Reich** at the expense of the societies of Eastern Europe.^[17]

4.2 First World War nationalist premise

Main article: **Septemberprogramm**

In September 1914, when the German victory in the **First World War** appeared feasible, the government of Imperial Germany introduced the *Septemberprogramm* as an official war aim (*Kriegsziel*), which was secretly endorsed



Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, 5th Chancellor of Germany, 1909–17, was a proponent of German Lebensraum as a natural right of Imperial Germany

by Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1909–17), whereby, upon achieving battlefield victory, Germany would annex territories from western Poland to form the **Polish Border Strip** (*Polnischer Grenzstreifen*, c. 30,000 km.²). *Lebensraum* would be realised by way of **ethnic cleansing**, the forcible removal of the native Slavic and Jewish populations, and the subsequent repopulation of the border strip with ethnic-German colonists; likewise, the colonisations of Lithuania and Ukraine; yet military over-extension lost the war for Imperial Germany, and the *Septemberprogramm* went unrealised.^[20]

In April 1915, Chancellor von Bettman-Hollweg authorised the Polish Border Strip plans in order to take advantage of the extensive territories in Eastern Europe that Germany had conquered and held since early in the war.^[21] The decisive campaigns of Imperial Germany almost realised *Lebensraum* in the East, especially when Bolshevik Russia unilaterally withdrew as a combatant in the “Great War” among the European imperialist powers — the Triple Entente (the Russian Empire, the French Third Republic, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Kingdom of Italy) and the Central Powers (the German Empire, Austria–Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Bulgaria).

In March 1918, in effort to reform and modernise the Russian Empire (1721–1917) into a soviet republic, the Bolshevik government agreed to the strategically onerous, territorial cessions stipulated in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918), and Russia yielded to Germany much of the arable land of European Russia, the Baltic governorates, Belarus, Ukraine, and the Caucasus region.^[22] Despite such an extensive geopolitical victory, tactical defeat in the Western Front, strategic over-extension, and factional division in government compelled Imperial Germany to abandon the eastern European *Lebensraum* gained with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (33 per cent of arable land, 30 per cent of industry, and 90 per cent of the coal mines of Russia) in favour of the peace-terms of the Treaty of Versailles (1919), and yielded those Russian lands to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine.

As a *casus belli* for the conquest and colonisation of Polish territories as living-space and defensive-border for the Imperial German Reich, the *Septemberprogramm* derived from a foreign policy initially proposed by General Erich Ludendorff, in 1914.^[21] Twenty-five years later, Nazi foreign policy resumed the cultural goal of the pursuit and realisation of German-living-space at the expense of non-German peoples in Eastern Europe with the September Campaign (1 September – 6 October 1939) that began the Second World War in Europe.^[23] In *Germany and the Two World Wars* (1967), the German historian Andreas Hillgruber said that the territorial gains of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) were the imperial prototype for Adolf Hitler’s Greater German Empire in Eastern Europe:

At the moment of the November 1918 ceasefire in the West, newspaper maps of the military situation showed German troops in Finland, holding a line from the Finnish fjords near Narva, down through Pskov–Orsha–Mogilev and the area south of Kursk, to the Don east of Rostov. Germany had thus secured Ukraine. The Russian recognition of Ukraine’s separation, exacted at Brest–Litovsk, represented the key element in German efforts to keep Russia perpetually subservient. In addition, German troops held the Crimea, and were stationed, in smaller numbers, in Transcaucasia. Even the unoccupied “rump” Russia appeared — with the conclusion of the German–Soviet Supplementary Treaty, on 28 August 1918 — to be in firm, though indirect, dependency on the Reich. Thus, Hitler’s long-range aim, fixed in the 1920s, of erecting a German Eastern Imperium on the ruins of the Soviet Union was not simply a vision emanating from an abstract wish. In the Eastern sphere, established in 1918, this goal had a concrete point of departure. The German Eastern Imperium had already been — if only for a short time — a reality. — Andreas Hillgruber. *Germany and the Two World Wars* ^[24]

In the event, the *Septemberprogramm* (1914) documents “*Lebensraum* in the East” as philosophically integral to Germanic culture throughout the history of Germany; and that *Lebensraum* is not a racist philosophy particular to the 20th century.^[25] As military strategy, the *Septemberprogramm* came to nought for being infeasible — too few soldiers to realise the plans — during a two-front war; politically, the *Programm* allowed the Imperial Government to learn the opinions of the nationalist, economic, and military élites of the German ruling class who finance and facilitate geopolitics.^[26] Nationally, the annexation and ethnic cleansing of Poland for German *Lebensraum* was an official and a popular subject of “nationalism-as-national-security” endorsed by German society, including the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP).^[27] In *The Origins of the Second World War* the British historian A. J. P. Taylor wrote.

It is equally obvious that *Lebensraum* always appeared as one element in these blueprints. This was not an original idea of Hitler’s. It was commonplace at the time. *Volk ohne Raum* (*People Without Space*), for instance, by Hans Grimm sold much better than *Mein Kampf* when it was published in 1925. For that matter, plans for acquiring new territory were much aired in Germany during the First World War. It used to be thought that these were the plans of a few crack-pot theorists or of extremist organisations. Now we know better. In 1961, a German professor [Fritz Fischer] reported the results of his investigations into German war aims. These were indeed a “blueprint for aggression”, or, as the professor called them, “a grasp at world power”: Belgium under German control, the French iron-fields annexed to Germany, and, what is more, Poland and Ukraine to be cleared of their inhabitants and resettled with Germans. These plans were not merely the work of the German General Staff. They were endorsed by the German Foreign Office and by the “Good German”, Bethmann–Hollweg. — Alan J. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* ^[28]

4.3 Interwar propaganda

In the national politics of the **Weimar Republic** (1919–33), the German **Eugenicists** took up the nationalist, political slogan of *Volk ohne Raum*, and matched it with the racial slogan *Volk ohne Jugend* (a People without Youth), a cultural proposition that ignored the declining German birth-rate (since the 1880s) and contradicted the popular belief that the “German race” was a vigorous and growing people. Despite each slogan (political and racial) being contradicted by the reality of such demographic facts, the nationalists’ demands for *Lebensraum* proved to be ideologically valid politics in Weimar Germany.^{[29][30]}

In the lead-up to **Anschluss** (1938) and the invasion of Poland (1939) the propaganda of **Nazi Party** in Germany used popular feelings of wounded **national identity** aroused in the aftermath of the First World War (1914–18) to promote policies of *Lebensraum*. Studies of the homeland focused on the lost colonies after the rebirth of sovereign Poland which was ratified by the **Treaty of Versailles** (*Volk ohne Raum*), as well as the “eternal Jewish threat” (*Der ewige Jude*, 1937). Emphasis was put on the need for rearmament and the **pseudoscience** of superior races in the pursuit of “blood and soil”.^[31]

In the twenty-one year inter-war period, between the First (1914–18) and the Second (1939–45) world wars, *Lebensraum* for Germany was the principal tenet of the extremist nationalism that characterised the party politics in Germany. The Nazis, led by Adolf Hitler, demanded not only the geographic reversion of Germany’s post-war borders (to recuperate territory lost per the Treaty of Versailles), but demanded the German **conquest** and **colonisation** of Eastern Europe (whether or not those lands were German before 1918).^[32] To that end, Hitler said that flouting the Treaty of Versailles was required for Germany to obtain needed *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe.^[33] During the 1920s, as a member of the **Artaman League**, an anti-Slav, anti-urban, and anti-Semitic organisation of **blood-and-soil** ideology, **Heinrich Himmler** developed *völkisch* ideas that advocated ‘Lebensraum,’ for the realisation of which he said that the:

Increase [of] our peasant population is the only effective defense against the influx of the Slav working-class masses from the East. As six hundred years ago, the German peasant’s destiny must be to preserve and increase the German people’s patrimony in their holy mother earth battle against the Slav race.^[34]

4.3.1 Ideology of Adolf Hitler

In *Mein Kampf* (1925), Hitler dedicated a full chapter titled “Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy”, outlining the need for the new ‘living space’ for Germany. He claimed that achieving *Lebensraum* required political will, and that the National Socialist Movement ought to strive to expand population area for the German people, and acquire new sources of food as well.^[35] *Lebensraum* became the principal, foreign-policy goal of the Nazi Party and the **government of Nazi Germany** (1933–45). Hitler rejected the restoration of the pre-war borders of Germany as an inadequate half-measure towards reducing purported national overpopulation.^[36] From that perspective, he opined that the nature of national borders is always unfinished and momentary, and that their redrawing must continue as Germany’s political goal.^[37] Hence, Hitler identified the geopolitics of *Lebensraum* as the ultimate political will of his Party:

And so, we National Socialists consciously draw a line beneath the foreign policy tendency of our pre-War period. We take up where we broke off six hundred years ago. We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze toward the land in the East. At long last, we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and shift to the soil policy of the future.^[38]

Mein Kampf sequel, 1928

In the unpublished sequel to *Mein Kampf*, the *Zweites Buch* (1928, Second Book), Hitler further presents the ideology of Nazi *Lebensraum*, in accordance to the then-future foreign policy of the National Socialist Party. To further German population growth, Hitler rejected the ideas of **birth control** and emigration, arguing that such practices weakened the people and culture of Germany, and that military conquest was the only means for obtaining *Lebensraum*:

The National Socialist Movement, on the contrary, will always let its foreign policy be determined by the necessity to secure the space necessary to the life of our Folk. It knows no Germanising or



Mein Kampf (1926–28), Hitler's political autobiography presented the racist philosophy of Lebensraum advocated for Germany by National Socialists.

Teutonising, as in the case of the national bourgeoisie, but only the spread of its own Folk. It will never see in the subjugated, so called Germanised, Czechs or Poles a national, let alone Folkish, strengthening, but only the racial weakening of our Folk.^[39]

Therefore, the non-Germanic peoples of the annexed foreign territories would never be Germanised:

The Folkish State, conversely, must under no conditions annex Poles with the intention of wanting to make Germans out of them some day. On the contrary, it must muster the determination either to seal off these alien racial elements, so that the blood of its own Folk will not be corrupted again, or it must, without further ado, remove them and hand over the vacated territory to its own National Comrades.^[40]

Foreign-policy prime directive

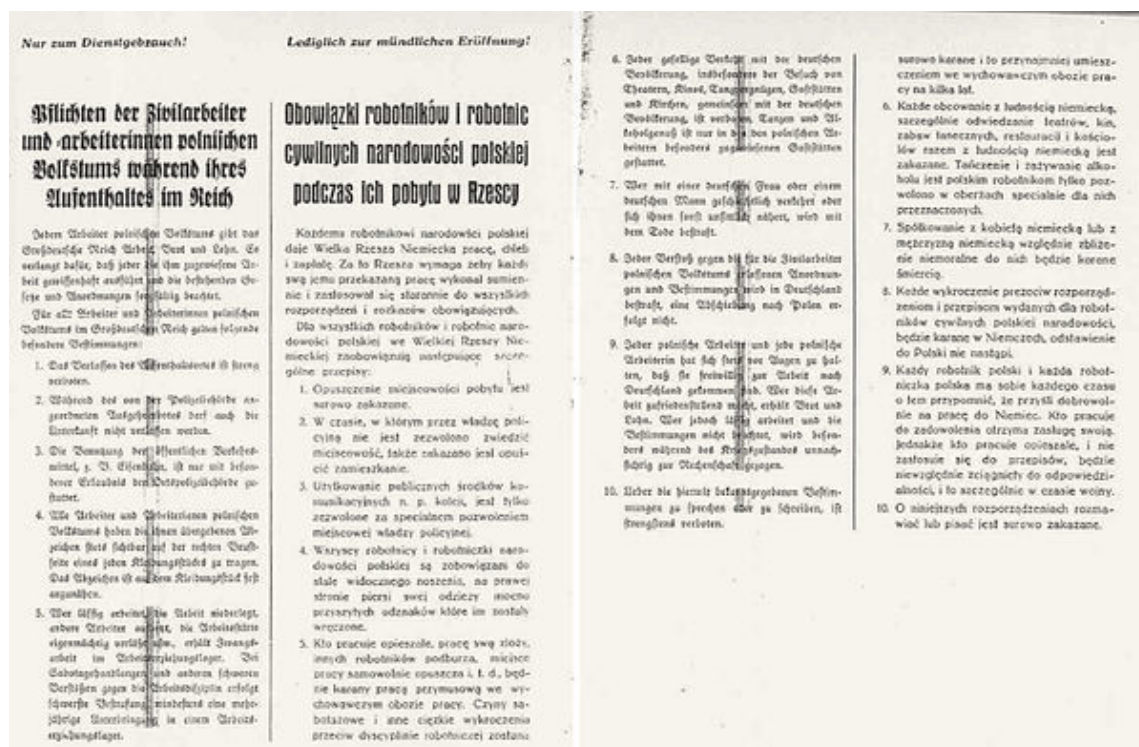


The Nuremberg Laws (1935) of Nazi Germany employed scientific racism to exclude Jews from mainstream society. People with four German grandparents (white circles) were classified as of “German blood,” those with one or two Jewish grandparents (black circles) were considered to be Mischling, of “Mixed blood”, while those with three or more Jewish grandparents were deemed to be Jews.

The conquest of living space for Germany was the foremost foreign-policy goal of the Nazis towards establishing the Greater Germanic Reich that was to last a thousand years.^[41] On 3 February 1933, at his initial meeting with the generals and admirals of Nazi Germany, Adolf Hitler said that the conquest of *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe, and its “ruthless Germanisation”, were the ultimate geopolitical objectives of Reich foreign policy.^[42] That the USSR was the country to provide sufficient *Lebensraum* for the Germans, because it possessed much agricultural land, and was inhabited by Slavic *Untermenschen* (sub-humans) ruled by Jewish Bolshevism.^[43] The racism of Hitler’s *Lebensraum* philosophy allowed only the Germanisation of the soil and the land, but not of the native peoples, who were to be destroyed, by slave labour and starvation.^[44]

Politics of racism

In the worldview of Adolf Hitler, the idea of restoring the 1914 borders of the German Reich (Imperial Germany, 1871–1918) was absurd, because those national borders did not provide sufficient *Lebensraum* for the German population; that only a foreign policy for the geopolitical conquest of the proper amount of *Lebensraum* would justify the necessary sacrifices entailed by war.^[45] That history was dominated by a merciless struggle for survival among the different races of mankind; and that the races who possessed a great national territory were innately stronger than those races who possessed a small national territory — which the Germanic Aryan race can take by natural right.^[46] Such official racist perspectives for the establishment of German *Lebensraum* allowed the Nazis to unilaterally launch a war of aggression (*Blitzkrieg*) against the countries of Eastern Europe, ideologically justified as historical recuperation of the Oium (lands) that the Slavs had conquered from the native Ostrogoths.^[47] Although in the 1920s Hitler openly spoke about the need for living space, during his first years in power, he never publicly spoke about it. It was not until 1937 with the German rearmament program well under way that he began to publicly speak about the need for living space again.^[48]



Poster (in German and Polish): Obligations of Polish Workers in Germany which included the death penalty for sexual relations with a German.

4.4 Second World War (1939–45)

Main articles: Generalplan Ost, Greater Germanic Reich, and Heim ins Reich

On 6 October 1939, Hitler told the Reichstag that after the fall of Poland the most important matter was “a new order of ethnographic relations, that is to say, resettlement of nationalities”.[49] On 20 October 1939, Hitler told General **Wilhelm Keitel** that the war would be a difficult “racial struggle” and that the **General Government** was to “purify the Reich territory from Jews and Polacks, too.”[50] Likewise, in October 1939, Nazi propaganda instructed Germans to view Poles, Jews, and Gypsies as *Untermenschen* (subhumans).[51]

In 1941, in a speech to the Eastern Front Battle Group Nord, Himmler said that the war against the Soviet Union was a war of ideologies and races, between **National Socialism** and **Jewish Bolshevism** and between the Germanic peoples (Nordic) and *Untermenschen* peoples of the East.^[52] Moreover, in one of the secret **Posen speeches** to the *SS-Gruppenführer* at Posen, Himmler said: “the mixed race of the Slavs is based on a sub-race with a few drops of blood of our blood, blood of a leading race; the Slav is unable to control himself and create order.”^[53] In that vein, Himmler published the pamphlet *Der Untermensch* (The Subhuman), which featured photographs of ideal racial types, Aryans, contrasted with the barbarian races, descended from **Attila the Hun** and **Genghis Khan**, to the massacres committed in the Soviet Union dominated by Jewish Bolshevism.^[54]

With the **Polish decrees** (8 March 1940), the Nazis ensured that the racial inferiority of the Poles was legally recognized in the German Reich, and regulated the working and living conditions of Polish laborers (*Zivilarbeiter*).^[55] The Polish Decrees also established that any Pole “who has sexual relations with a German man or woman, or approaches them in any other improper manner, will be punished by death.”^[56] The **Gestapo** were vigilant of sexual relations between Germans and Poles, and pursued anyone suspected of race defilement (*Rassenschande*); likewise, there were proscriptions of sexual relations between Germans and other ethnic groups brought in from Eastern Europe.^[57]

As official policy, *Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler* said that no drop of German blood would be lost or left behind to mingle with any alien races;^[58] and that the Germanisation of Eastern Europe would be complete when “in the East dwell only men with truly German [and] Germanic blood”.^[59] In the secret memorandum *Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East* (25 May 1940) Himmler outlined the future of the Eastern European peoples; (i) division of native ethnic groups found in the new living-space; (ii) limited, formal education of four

years of elementary school (to teach them only how to write their names and to count to five hundred), and (iii) obey the orders of Germans.^[60] Nonetheless, despite Nazi Germany's official racism, the extermination of the native populations of the countries of Eastern Europe was not always necessary, because the **Racial policy of Nazi Germany** regarded some Eastern European peoples as being of Aryan-Nordic stock, especially the local leaders.^[61] On March 4, 1941, Himmler introduced the German People's List (*Deutsche Volksliste*), the purpose of it being to segregating the inhabitants of German occupied territories into categories of desirability according to criteria.^[62] In the same memorandum, Himmler advocated the **kidnapping of children** who appeared to be Nordic because it would "remove the danger that this subhuman people (*Untermenschen*) of the East through such children might acquire a leader class from such people of good blood, which would be dangerous for us because they would be our equals."^{[63][64]} According to Himmler, the destruction of the Soviet Union would have led to the exploit of millions of peoples as slave labor in the occupied territories and the eventual re-population of the areas with Germans.^[65]

Classification under the laws in the annexed territories

Hitler who was born in the ethnically diverse **Austrian-Hungarian Empire**, avowed in *Mein Kampf* (1926), that Germanising Austrian Slavs by language in the **age of Partitions** could not have turned them into fully fledged Germans, because no 'Negro' nor a 'Chinaman' would ever 'become German' just because he has learned to speak German. He believed that no visible differences between peoples could be bridged by the use of a common language. Any such attempts would lead to the 'bastardization' of the German element he said.^[66] Likewise, Hitler criticized the previous attempts at Germanisation of the Poles in the **Prussian Partition** as an erroneous idea, based on the same false reasoning. The Polish people could not possibly be Germanised by being compelled to speak German because they belonged to a different race, he said. "The result would have been fatal" for the purity of the German nation because the foreigners would 'compromise' by their inferiority "the dignity and nobility" of the German nation.^[66] During the war, Hitler remarked in his "Table Talk" recorded at the **headquarters** that people should only be Germanized if they were to improve the German blood line:



Nazi Germany in 1940 (dark grey) after the conquest of Poland together with the USSR, showing pockets of German colonists resettled into the annexed territories of Poland from the Soviet "sphere of influence" during the "Heim ins Reich" action. – The Nazi propaganda poster, superimposed with the red outline of Poland missing entirely from the original German print.^[67]

There is one cardinal principle. This question of the Germanisation of certain peoples must not be examined in the light of abstract ideas and theory. We must examine each particular case. The only problem is to make sure whether the offspring of any race will mingle well with the German population and will improve it, or whether, on the contrary (as is the case when Jew blood is mixed with German blood), negative results will arise. Unless one is completely convinced that the foreigners whom one proposes to introduce into the German community will have a beneficial effect, well, I think it's better to abstain, however strong the sentimental reasons may be which urge such a course on us. There are plenty of Jews with blue eyes and blond hair, and not a few of them have the appearance which strikingly supports the idea of the Germanisation of their kind. It has, however, been indisputably established that, in the case of Jews, if the physical characteristics of the race are sometimes absent for a generation or two, they will inevitably reappear in the next generation.^[68]

Informed by the **blood and soil** (*Blut und Boden*) beliefs of ethnic identity — a philosophic basis of *Lebensraum* — Nazi policy required destroying the USSR for the lands of Russia to become the granary of Germany. The Germanisation of Russia required the destruction of the cities, in effort to vanquish **Russianness, Communism, and Jewish Bolshevism**.^[69] To that effect, Hitler ordered the **Siege of Leningrad** (September 1941–January 1944), to raze the city and destroy the native Russian population.^[70] Geopolitically, the establishment of German *Lebensraum* in the east of Europe would thwart **blockades**, like those occurred in the First World War, which starved the people of Germany.^[71] Moreover, using Eastern Europe to feed Germany also was intended to exterminate millions of Slavs, by slave labour and starvation.^[72] When deprived of producers, a workforce, and customers, native industry would cease and disappear from the Germanised region, which then became agricultural land for settlers from Nazi Germany.^[72]

The Germanised lands of Eastern Europe would be settled by the *Wehrbauer*, a soldier–peasant who was to maintain a fortified line of defence, which would prevent any non–German civilisation from arising to threaten the **Greater Germanic Reich**.^[73] Plans for the Germanisation of western Europe were less severe, as the Nazis needed the **collaboration** of the local political and business establishments, especially that of local industry and their skilled workers. Moreover, Nazi racial policies considered the populations of western Europe more racially acceptable to Aryan standards of “racial purity”. In practice, the number and assortment of **Nazi racial categories** indicated that “East is bad and West is acceptable”; thus, a person’s “race” was a matter of life or death in a country under **Nazi occupation**.^[74]

The racist ideology of *Lebensraum* also comprised the **North German** racial stock of the northern-European peoples of **Scandinavia** (Denmark, Norway, Sweden); and the continental-European peoples of Alsace and Lorraine, Belgium and northern France; whilst Great Britain would either be annexed or be made a **puppet state**.^[75] Moreover, the poor military performance of the Italian armed forces forced **Fascist Italy**’s withdrawal from the war in 1943, which then made northern Italy a territory to be **annexed** to the Greater Germanic Reich.^[75]

Collaborationism

For political expediency, the Nazis continually modified their racist politics towards non–Germanic peoples, and so continually redefined the ideological meaning of *Lebensraum*, in order to collaborate with other peoples, in service to Reich foreign policy. Early in his career as leader of the Nazis, Adolf Hitler said he would accept friendly relations with the USSR, on condition that the Soviet government re-establish the disadvantageous borders of European Russia, which were demarcated in the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** (1918), which made possible the restoration of Russo–German diplomatic relations.^[76]

In the 1921–22 period, Hitler said that German *Lebensraum* might be achieved with a smaller USSR, created by sponsoring anti-communist Russians in deposing the Communist government of the **Bolsheviks**; however, by the end of 1922, Hitler changed his opinion when there arose the possibility of an Anglo–German geopolitical alliance to destroy the USSR.^[76] Yet, once **Operation Barbarossa** (1941) launched the invasion of the USSR, the strategic stance of the Nazi régime towards a smaller, independent Russia was affected by political pressure from the **German Army**, who asked Hitler, the supreme military commander, to endorse the creation and integration, to Wehrmacht operations in Russia, of the anti–Communist **Russian Liberation Army** (ROA); an organisation of **defectors**, led by General **Andrey Vlasov**, who meant to depose the régime of **Josef Stalin** and the **Russian Communist Party**.^[77]

Initially, Hitler rejected the idea of collaborating with the peoples in the East.^[78] However, Nazis such as Joseph Goebbels and Alfred Rosenberg were in favour of collaboration against Bolshevism and offering some independence to the peoples of the East.^{[79][80]} In 1940, Himmler opened up membership for people he regarded as being of “related stock”, which resulted in a number of right wing Scandinavians signing up to fight in the Waffen-SS. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, further volunteers from France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands,



To achieve Lebensraum in Eastern Europe, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Gen. Andrey Vlasov, of the Russian Liberation Army, joined forces to rid Russia of Communism and supposed Jewish Bolshevism.

Czechoslovakia, and the Croatia signed up to fight for the Nazi cause.^[81] After 1942, when the war turned decisively against Nazi Germany, further recruits from the occupied territories signed up to fight for the Nazis.^[81] Hitler was worried about the foreign legions on the Eastern Front; he remarked that “One mustn't forget that, unless he is convinced of his racial membership of the Germanic Reich, the foreign legionary is bound to feel that he's betraying

his country.”^[82]

After further losses of manpower, the Nazis tried to persuade the forced foreign laborers in the Reich to fight against Bolshevism, Martin Bormann issued a memorandum on 5 May 1943:

It impossible to win someone over to a new idea while insulting his inner sense of worth at the same time. One cannot expect the highest level of performance from people who are called beasts, barbarians, and subhuman. Instead, positive qualities such as the will to fight Bolshevism, the desire to safeguard one's own existence and that of one's country, commitment and willingness to work are to be encouraged and promoted. Moreover, everything must be done to encourage the necessary cooperation of the European peoples in the fight against Bolshevism.^[83]

In 1944, as the German army continually lost battles and territory to the Red Army, the leaders of Nazi Germany, especially *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler, recognised the political, ideological, and military value of the collaborationist Russian Liberation Army in fighting Jewish Bolshevism.^[84] Secretly, Himmler in his Posen speeches remarked: “I wouldn't have had any objections, if we had hired Mr. Vlasov and every other Slavic subject wearing a Russian general's uniform, to make propaganda against the Russians. I wouldn't have any objections at all. Wonderful.”^[53]

Implementation

Further information: Generalplan Ost, Expulsion of Poles by Nazi Germany (1939–1944), Ural Mountains in Nazi planning, and Wehrbauer

The Polish Campaign (1 September 1939) was Adolf Hitler's first attempt to achieve *Lebensraum* for the Germans.



The Nazi establishment of German Lebensraum required the expulsion of the Poles from Poland, such as their expulsion from the Reichsgau Wartheland in 1939.

The Nazi invasion of Eastern Europe consisted of atrocities committed against Polish men, women, and children. Popular German acceptance of the atrocities was achieved by way of Nazi propaganda (print, radio, cinema), a key factor behind the manufactured consent that justified German brutality towards civilians; by continually manipulating the national psychology, the Nazis convinced the German people to believe that Jews and Slavs were *Untermenschen* (subhumans).^[85]



Germanisation of Poland: SS Obergruppenführer Arthur Greiser welcomes the millionth Eastern European Volksdeutscher to be resettled in annexed Polish territories, March 1944.

In autumn 1939, Nazi Germany's implementation of *Lebensraum* policy began with the **Occupation of Poland (1939–1945)**; in October 1939, Heinrich Himmler became the **Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Nationhood** tasked with returning all ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) to the Reich; preventing harmful foreign influences upon the German people; and to create new settlement areas (especially for returning *Volksdeutsche*).^[86] From mid–1940, the **ethnic cleansing** (forcible removal) of Poles from the **Reichsgau Wartheland** initially occurred across the border, to the **General Government** (a colonial political entity ostensibly autonomous of the Reich), then, after the invasion of the USSR, the displaced Polish populations were jailed in *Polenlager* (Pole-storage camps) in Silesia and sent to villages designated as **ghettoes**. In four years of Germanisation (1940–44), the Nazis forcibly removed some 50,000 ethnic Poles from the Polish territories annexed to the Greater German Reich, notably some 18,000–20,000 ethnic Poles from Żywiec County, in Polish Silesia, effected in **Action Saybusch**.^{[87][88]}

The German population's psychological acceptance of extermination-for-*Lebensraum* was achieved with propaganda; the leaders of the **Hitler Youth** were issued pamphlets (e.g. *On the German People and its Territory*) meant to influence the rank-and-file Hitler Youth about the necessity of Nazi racist practices in obtaining *Lebensraum* for the German people.^[89] Likewise, in the Reich proper, schoolchildren were given propaganda pamphlets (e.g. *You and Your People*) explaining the importance of *Lebensraum* for the future of Germany and the German people.^[90]

The East–West frontier

Concerning the geographic extent of the Greater Germanic Reich, Adolf Hitler rejected the Ural Mountains as an adequate, eastern border for Germany, that such mid-sized mountains would not make do as the boundary between the “European and Asiatic worlds”; that only a living wall of racially pure Aryans would make do as a border; and that permanent war in the East would “preserve the vitality of the race”:

The real frontier is the one that separates the Germanic world from the Slav world. It is our duty to place it where we want it to be. If anyone asks where we obtain the right to extend the Germanic space to the east, we reply that, for a nation, its awareness of what it represents carries this right with it. It is success that justifies everything. The reply to such questions can only be of an empirical nature. It is inconceivable that a higher people should painfully exist on a soil too narrow for it, while amorphous

masses, which contribute nothing to civilization, occupy infinite tracts of a soil that is one of the richest in the world ...

We must create conditions for our people that favour its multiplication, and we must, at the same time, build a dike against the Russian flood ... Since there is no natural protection against such a flood, we must meet it with a living wall. A permanent war on the eastern front will help form a sound race of men, and will prevent us from relapsing into the softness of a Europe thrown back upon itself. It should be possible for us to control this region to the east with two hundred and fifty thousand men, plus a cadre of good administrators ...

This space in Russia must always be dominated by Germans.^[91]

In 1941, the Reich decided that within two decades, by the year 1961, Poland would have been emptied of Poles and re-populated with ethnic-German colonists from Bukovina, Eastern Galicia, and Volhynia.^[92] The ruthless Germanisation Hitler required for *Lebensraum* was attested in the reports of *Wehrbauer* (soldier-peasant) colonists' assigned to ethnically cleansed Poland – of finding half-eaten meals at table and unmade beds in the houses given them by the Nazis.^[93] Baltic Germans from Estonia and Latvia were evaluated for racial purity; those classified to the highest category, *Ost-Falle*, were resettled in the Eastern Wall.^[94]

Moreover, the Germanisation of Russia began with Operation Barbarossa (June–September 1941) meant to conquer and colonise European Russia as the granary of Germany.^[97] For those Slavic lands, the Nazi theorist and ideologue Alfred Rosenberg proposed administrative organisation by the *Reichskommissariate*, countries consolidated into colonial realms ruled by a commissar:

In 1943, in the secret *Posen speeches*, Heinrich Himmler spoke of the Ural Mountains as the eastern border of the Greater Germanic Reich.^[53] That the Germanic race would gradually expand to that eastern border, so that, in several generations' time, the German *Herrenvolk*, as the leading people of Europe, would be ready to “resume the battles of destiny against Asia”, which were “sure to break out again”; and that the defeat of Europe would mean “the destruction of the creative power of the Earth”;^[53] nonetheless, the Ural Mountains were a secondary objective of the secret *Generalplan Ost* (Master Plan East) for the colonisation of Eastern Europe.^[98]

The early stages of *Lebensraum im Osten* (*Lebensraum in the East*) featured the ethnic-cleansing of Russians and other Slavs (Galicians, Karelians, Ukrainians, *et al.*) from their lands, and the consolidation of their countries into the *Reichskommissariat* administration that extended to the Ural Mountains, the geographic frontier of Europe and Asia. To manage the ethnic, racial, and political populations of the USSR, the German Army promptly organized collaborationist, anti-Communist, puppet governments in the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (1941–45) and the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* (1941–44). Nonetheless, despite the initial, strategic successes of Operation Barbarossa, in counterattack, the Red Army's defeats of the German Army at the Battle of Stalingrad (August 1942–February 1943) and at the Battle of Kursk (July–August 1943) in Russia, added to the Allied Operation Husky (July–August 1943) in Sicily, thwarted the full implementation of Nazi *Lebensraum* in the east of Europe.

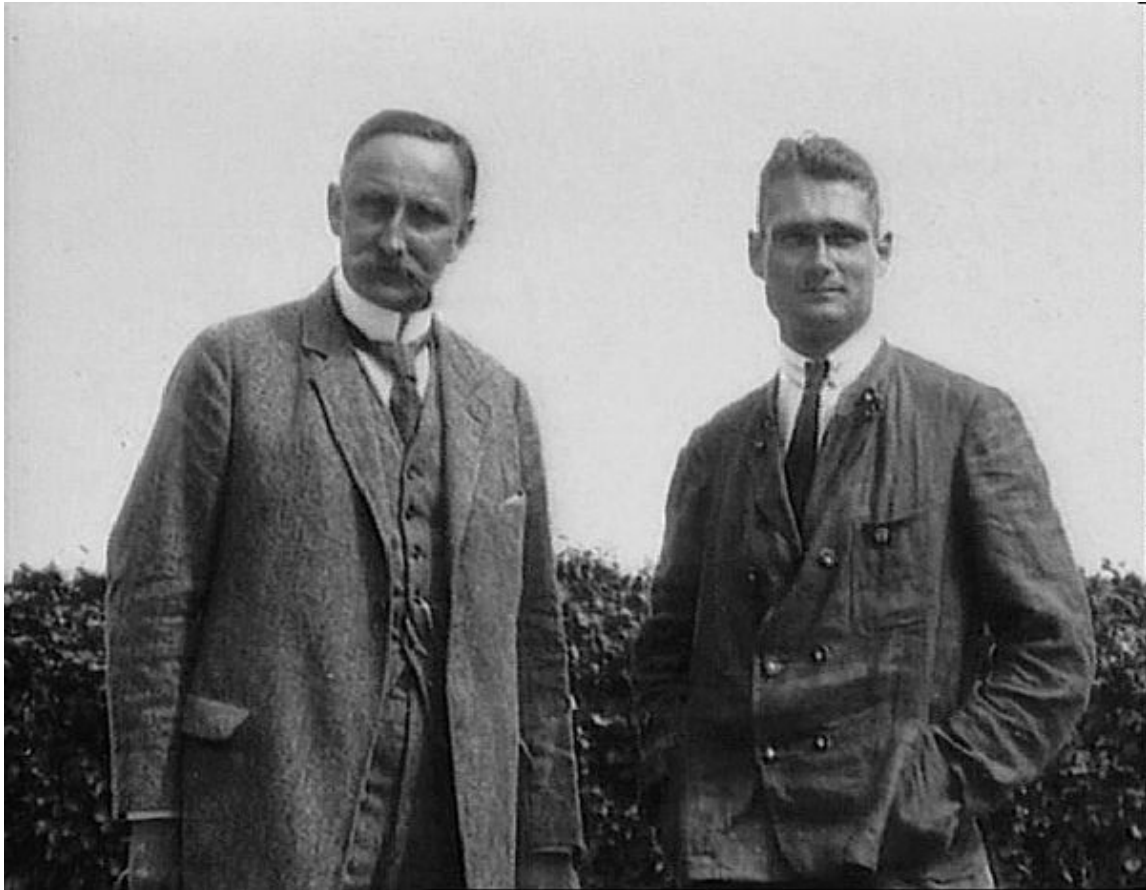
4.5 Historical retrospective

Further information: Nazi foreign policy debate

The scale of *Lebensraum*

The scope of the enterprise and the scale of the territories invaded and conquered for Germanisation by the Nazis indicated two ideological purposes for *Lebensraum*, and their relation to the geopolitical purposes of the Nazis: (i) a program of global conquest, begun in Central Europe; and (ii) a program of continental European conquest, limited to Eastern Europe. From the strategic perspectives of the *Stufenplan* (“Plan in Stages”), the global- and continental-interpretations of Nazi *Lebensraum* are feasible, and neither exclusive of each other, nor counter to Hitler's foreign-policy goals for Germany.^[99]

Among themselves, within the Reich régime proper, the Nazis held different definitions of *Lebensraum*, such as the idyllic, agrarian society that required much arable land, advocated by the blood-and-soil ideologist Richard Walther Darré and *Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler*; and the urban, industrial state, that required raw materials and slaves, advocated by Adolf Hitler.^[100] In the event, Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of Russia, in summer 1941, required a compromise of concept, purpose and execution to realize Hitler's conception of *Lebensraum* in the Slavic lands of Eastern Europe.^[99]



The geopolitician Karl Haushofer (left) provided the Nazis with the rationalisations (intellectual, academic, scientific) for Lebensraum, transmitted to Chancellor Adolf Hitler, by way of Rudolf Hess (right), who was Haushofer's student.

During the Posen speeches, Himmler spoke about the deaths of millions of Soviet prisoners of war and foreign labourers:

One basic principle must be the absolute rule for the SS men: We must be honest, decent, loyal and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else. What happens to a Russian, to a Czech, does not interest me in the slightest. What other nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type, we will take, if necessary, by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us. Whether nations live in prosperity or starve to death interests me only so far as we need them as slaves for our culture; otherwise, it is of no interest to me. Whether 10,000 Russian females fall down from exhaustion while digging an anti-tank ditch interests me only insofar as the anti-tank ditch for Germany is finished.^[53]

The ideology of *Lebensraum*

Racism usually is not a concept integral to the ideology of territorial expansionism; nor to the original meaning of the term *Lebensraum* (“biological habitat”), as defined by the ethnographer and geographer Friedrich Ratzel. Nonetheless, National Socialism (Nazism), the ideology of the Nazi Party established racism — specifically anti-Semitism — as a philosophic basis of *Lebensraum*-as-geopolitics; which Adolf Hitler presented as Nazi racist ideology in his political autobiography *Mein Kampf* (1926–28).

Moreover, the geopolitical interpretations of national living-space of the academic Karl Haushofer (a teacher of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy), provided Adolf Hitler with the intellectual, academic, and scientific rationalisations that justified the territorial expansion of Germany, by the natural right of the German Aryan race, to expand into, occupy, and exploit the lands of other countries, regardless of the native populations.^[101] In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler explained the living-space “required” by Nazi Germany:

In an era when the Earth is gradually being divided up among states, some of which embrace almost entire continents, we cannot speak of a world power in connection with a formation whose political

mother country is limited to the absurd area of five hundred thousand square kilometres.^[102] Without consideration of traditions and prejudices, Germany must find the courage to gather our people, and their strength, for an advance along the road that will lead this people from its present, restricted living space to new land and soil, and, hence, also free it from the danger of vanishing from the earth, or of serving others as a slave nation.^[103] For it is not in colonial acquisitions that we must see the solution of this problem, but exclusively in the acquisition of a territory for settlement, which will enhance the area of the mother country, and hence not only keep the new settlers in the most intimate community with the land of their origin, but secure for the entire area those advantages which lie in its unified magnitude.^[104]

4.6 Contemporary definitions

Since the end of the **Second World War** (1939–45), the term “Lebensraum” has applied to the nationalist expansionism (territorial, economic, cultural) of countries throughout the world.

China

The Tibetan intellectual Tsering Shakya said that the policies of the People’s Republic of China that rationalise and justify the incorporation of Tibet into the People’s Republic of China are a form of Chinese Communist *Lebensraum*.^{[105][106]}

Egypt

In 1954, the Arab nationalism of Gamal Abdel Nasser was derived from the domestic circumstances of post-monarchical Egypt, which necessitated seeking *Lebensraum* beyond the political and cultural borders of Egyptian borders. The intellectual bases of radical, Arabist nationalism in Egypt were attributed to the ideological influences of *Lebensraum* by Nazi Germany (1933–45) and Fascist Italy (1922–43), which negatively affected relations (political, cultural, social) between Egypt and the Sudan.^{[107][108]}

Israel

The term *Lebensraum* is applied to Israel’s territorial actions in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war^{[109][110]} and in the policies for Israeli settlement of the Palestinian territories.^{[111][112][113][114]} Efraim Eitam, an Israeli government minister under Prime minister Ariel Sharon, supposedly used the term *Lebensraum* as the conceptual basis for his statements that all Arab citizens of Israel (Israeli Arabs) and all Palestinians should either be persuaded or forced to leave Israel and the Palestinian Territories.^[115]

The U.S.

The worldwide establishment of capitalism, by means of economic globalization by the U.S. has been called the “American Lebensraum”, which is criticized as a neocolonialism and as cultural imperialism.^{[116][117]} American expert on geopolitics, Isaiah Bowman, known as “Roosevelt’s Geographer,” had promised in 1944 in front of his Council of Foreign Relations colleagues: If Hitler wished lebensraum, he will get lebensraum, a global American one, albeit it will be economic lebensraum.^[118]

4.7 See also

4.8 Footnotes

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4.10 External links

- The Invasion of the Soviet Union and the Beginnings of Mass Murder, in the Yad Vashem website
- Utopia: The Greater Germanic Reich of the German Nation — A map of Nazi plans for German empire
- Hitler and 'Lebensraum' in the East, by Jeremy Noakes

Chapter 5

Blood and Soil

For the Ben Kiernan book, see [Blood and Soil \(book\)](#).

Blood and Soil (German: *Blut und Boden*) refers to an ideology that focuses on ethnicity based on two factors, descent blood (of a folk) and territory. It celebrates the relationship of a people to the land they occupy and cultivate, and it places a high value on the virtues of rural living.

5.1 Rise

The German expression was coined in the late 19th century, in tracts espousing racialism and national romanticism. It produced a regionalist literature, with some social criticism.^[1] This romantic attachment was widespread prior to the rise of the Nazis.^[2] Major figures in 19th-century German agrarian romanticism included Ernst Moritz Arndt and Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, who argued that the peasantry represented the foundation of the German people and conservatism.^[3]

Ultrationalists predating the Nazis often supported country living as more healthy, with the Artaman League sending urban children to the countryside to work in hopes of transforming them into Wehrbauern.^[4]

Richard Walther Darré popularized the phrase at the time of the rise of Nazi Germany; he wrote a book called *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden (A New Nobility Based On Blood And Soil)*, in 1930, which proposed a systemic eugenics program, arguing for breeding as a cure-all for all the problems plaguing the state.^[5] Darré was an influential member of the Nazi party and a noted race theorist who assisted the party greatly in gaining support among common Germans outside the cities. Prior to their ascension to power, Nazis called for a return from the cities to the countryside.^[6] This agrarian sentiment allowed opposition to both the middle class and the aristocracy, and presented the farmer as a superior figure beside the moral swamp of the city.^[7]

5.2 Nazi ideology

The doctrine not only called for a “back to the land” approach and re-adoption of rural values; it held that German land was bound, perhaps mystically, to German blood.^[8] Peasants were the Nazi cultural heroes, who held charge of German racial stock and German history—as when a memorial of a medieval peasant uprising was the occasion for a speech by Darré praising them as force and purifier of German history.^[9] This would also lead them to understand the natural order better, and, in the end, only the man who worked the land really possessed it.^[10] Urban culture was decried as a weakness, “asphalt culture”, that only the Führer’s will could eliminate — sometimes, as a code for Jewish influence.^[11]

It contributed to the Nazi ideal of a woman: a sturdy peasant, who worked the land and bore strong children, contributing to praise for athletic women tanned by outdoor work.^[12] That country women gave birth to more children than city ones, also was a factor in the support.^[13]

Carl Schmitt argued that a people would develop laws appropriate to its “blood and soil” because authenticity required loyalty to the *Volk* over abstract universals.^[14]

Neues Volk displayed demographic charts to deplore the destruction of the generous Aryan families’ farmland and



Logo of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and of the Blood and Soil ideology

how the Jews were eradicating traditional German peasantry.^[15] Posters for schools depicted and deplored the flight of people from the countryside to the city.^[16] The *German National Catechism*, a pamphlet widely used in schools, also recounted how farmers lost ancestral lands and had to move to the city, with all its demoralizing effects:^[17]

How has the Jew subjugated the peoples?

With money. He lent them money and made them pay interest. Thousands and thousands of Germans have been made wretched by the Jews and been reduced to poverty. Farmers whose land had been in the family for more than 100 years were driven from their land because they could not pay the interest.

What happened to those farmers?

They had to move to the cities. Torn from the land to which they belonged, robbed of their labour that gave their lives purpose and meaning, they fell victim to poverty and misery. Worn down, their souls crushed, they accepted Jewish doctrines that denied the Fatherland and opposed all that was nationalistic. Their strength and ability faded. The Jew had reached his goal.^[17]



Richard Walther Darré addressing a meeting of the farming community in Goslar on 13 December 1937 standing in front of a Reichsadler and Swastika crossed with a sword and wheat sheaf labelled Blood and Soil (from the German Federal Archive)

5.3 Nazi implementation

The program received far more ideological and propaganda support than concrete changes.^[18] When **Gottfried Feder** tried to settle workers in villages about decentralized factories, generals and **Junkers** successfully opposed him.^[19] Generals objected because it interfered with rearmament, and Junkers because it would prevent their exploiting their estates for the international market.^[20] It would also require the breakup of Junker estates for independent farmers, which was not implemented.^[6]

The *Reichserbhofgesetz*, the State Hereditary Farm Law of 1933, implemented this ideology, stating that its aim was to: “preserve the farming community as the blood-source of the German people” (*Das Bauerntum als Blutquelle des deutschen Volkes erhalten*). Selected lands were declared hereditary and could not be mortgaged or alienated, and only these farmers were entitled to call themselves *Bauern* or “farmer peasant”, a term the Nazis attempted to refurbish from a neutral or even pejorative to a positive term.^[21] Regional custom was only allowed to decide whether the eldest or the youngest son was to be the heir. In areas where no particular custom prevailed, the youngest son was to be the heir.^{[22][23][24][25]} Still, the eldest son inherited the farm, in most cases, during the Nazi era.^[26] Priority was given to the patriline, so that, if there were no sons, the brothers and brothers’ sons of the deceased peasant had precedence over the peasant’s own daughters. The countryside was also regarded as the best place to raise infantry, and as having a **organic harmony between landowner and peasant**, unlike the “race chaos” of the industrial cities.^[27] It also prevented Jews from farming: “Only those of German blood may be farmers.”^[28]

The concept was a factor in the requirement of a year of *land service* for members of **Hitler Youth** and the **League of German Girls**.^[29] This period of compulsory service was required after completion of a student’s basic education, before he or she could engage in advanced studies or become employed. Although working on a farm was not the only approved form of service, it was a common one; the aim was to bring young people back from the cities, in the hope that they would, then, stay “on the land”.^[30] In 1942, 600,000 boys and 1.4 million girls were sent to help bringing in the harvest.^[31] The concept was one of the reasons for the creation of the **Reich Harvest Thanksgiving Festival** whose main purpose was the recognition of the achievements of the German farmers.

figure of the **soldier-peasant**, uncontaminated by the city.^[41] These books were generally set in the nominal past, but their invocation of the passing of the seasons often gave them an air of timelessness.^[40] “Blood and soil” novels and theater celebrated the farmer’s life and human fertility, often mystically linking them.^[41]

One of the anti-Semitic fabrications in the children’s book *Der Giftpilz* was the claim that the Talmud described farming as the most lowly of occupations.^[42] It also included an account of a Jewish financier forcing a German to sell his farm as seen by a neighbor boy; deeply distressed, the boy resolved never to let a Jew into his house, for which his father praised him, on the grounds that peasants must remember that Jews will always take their land.^[43]

5.4.2 Fine art

During the Nazi period in Germany, one of the charges put forward against certain works of art was that “Art must not be isolated from blood and soil.”^[44] Failure to meet this standard resulted in the attachment of the label, “degenerate art”, to offending pieces. In Nazi art, both **landscape paintings** and figures reflected *blood-and-soil* ideology.^[45] Indeed, some Nazi art exhibits were explicitly titled “Blood and Soil”.^[46] Artists frequently gave otherwise apolitical paintings such titles as “German Land” or “German Oak”.^[47] Rural themes were heavily favored in painting.^[48] **Landscape paintings** were featured most heavily in the **Greater German Art Exhibitions**.^[49] While drawing on German romantic traditions, painted landscapes were expected to be firmly based on real landscapes, the German people’s *Lebensraum*, without religious overtones.^[50] Peasants were also popular images, promoting a simple life in harmony with nature.^[51] This art showed no sign of the mechanization of farm work.^[52] The farmer labored by hand, with effort and struggle.^[53]

The acceptance of this art by the peasant family was also regarded as an important element.^[54]

5.4.3 Film

Blut und Boden films likewise stressed the commonality of Germanness and the countryside.^[55] *Die goldene Stadt* has the heroine running away to the city, resulting in her pregnancy and abandonment; she drowns herself, and her last words beg her father to forgive her for not loving the countryside as he did.^[56] The documentary *Ewiger Wald* (*The Eternal Forest*) depicted the forest as being beyond the vicissitudes of history, and the German people the same because they were rooted in the story; it depicted the forest sheltering ancient Germans, **Arminius**, and the **Teutonic Knights**, facing the peasants wars, being chopped up by war and industry, and being humiliated by occupation with black soldiers, but culminated in a neo-pagan May Day celebration.^[57] In *Die Reise nach Tilsit*, the Polish seductress is an obvious product of “asphalt culture,” but the virtuous German wife is a country dweller in traditional costume.^[58]

5.5 Japanese usage

An Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato Race as Nucleus made extensive use of the term, usually in quotation marks, and showing an extensive debt to the Nazi usage.^[59]

5.6 See also

- Reichserbhofgesetz
- Nazi art
- Nazi propaganda
- Ethnic nationalism
- Nativism (politics)
- Integralism
- Irredentism
- Nazi eugenics

- Reichsnährstand
- Völkisch movement

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5.8 External links

- The Doctrine of Blut und Boden
- Fascist Ecology: The "Green Wing" of the Nazi Party and its Historical Antecedents
- Blood and Soil (Harpers) (subscription required)

Chapter 6

Greater Germanic Reich

This article is about the conceptual entity that the Nazis planned to establish during World War II. For the historically existent “Greater German Reich”, see [Nazi Germany](#).

See also: [Greater Germany](#)

The **Greater Germanic Reich** (German: *Großgermanisches Reich*), fully styled the **Greater Germanic Reich of**



*Boundaries of the planned “Greater Germanic Reich” – including possible puppet states and protectorates – based on various, only partially systematized target projections (e.g. *Generalplan Ost*) from state administration and SS leadership sources.^[1]*

the German Nation (German: *Großgermanisches Reich Deutscher Nation*) is the official state name of the political entity that [Nazi Germany](#) tried to establish in Europe during [World War II](#).^[2] [Albert Speer](#) stated in his memoirs that Hitler also referred to the envisioned state as the **Teutonic Reich of the German Nation**, although it is unclear whether Speer was using the now seldom used “Teutonic” as an English synonym for “Germanic”.^[3] Hitler also

mentions a future **Germanic State of the German Nation** (German: *Germanischer Staat Deutscher Nation*) in *Mein Kampf*.^[4]

The territorial claims for the Greater Germanic Reich fluctuated over time. As early as the autumn of 1933, Hitler envisioned annexing such territories as **Bohemia**, **Western Poland** and **Austria** to Germany and creation of **satellite** or **puppet states** without economies or policies of their own.^[5]

Between gaining power and February 1939, Hitler tried to conceal his true intentions towards Poland and revealed them only to his closest associates; the signing of a non-aggression pact with Poland in 1934 was a political maneuver to conceal his true intentions towards Poland.^[6] From 1934 to early 1939, Nazi Germany secretly prepared for war against Poland and mass murder and ethnic cleansing of its population, while officially claiming to the Polish government that it would continue to guarantee Poland's existence (though still maintaining its claims on the **Polish Corridor**) and offer Poland the right to annex the entirety of Ukraine from the Soviet Union, should Poland support Germany in a war with the Soviet Union, while Germany would annex the Baltic states and Soviet territories.^{[7][8]} Amidst and for a short time after German–Soviet negotiations for the partition of Poland between Germany and the **Soviet Union** took place, Hitler did not include territorial designs on the Soviet Union within the Greater Germanic Reich from 1939 to 1941, and instead was focusing on uniting the Germanic peoples of **Scandinavia** and the **Low Countries** into the Reich.^[9]

This pan-Germanic Empire was expected to assimilate practically all of Germanic Europe into an enormously expanded Reich. Territorially speaking, this encompassed the already-enlarged German Reich itself (consisting of pre-1938 Germany proper, **Austria**, **Bohemia**, **Moravia**, **Alsace-Lorraine**, **Eupen-Malmedy**, **Memel**, **Lower Styria**, **Upper Carniola**, **Southern Carinthia** and **German-occupied Poland**), the Netherlands, the Flemish part of Belgium, **Luxembourg**, **Denmark**, **Norway**, **Sweden**, **Iceland**, at least the German-speaking parts of **Switzerland**, and **Liechtenstein**.^[10]

The most notable exception was the **United Kingdom**, which was not projected as having to be reduced to a German province but to instead become an allied seafaring partner of the Germans.^[11] Another exception was German-populated territory in **South Tyrol** that was part of allied **Italy**. Aside from Germanic Europe, the Reich's western frontiers with France were to be reverted to those of the earlier **Holy Roman Empire**, which would have meant the complete annexation of all of **Wallonia**, **French Switzerland**, and large areas of northern and eastern France.^[12] Additionally, the policy of *Lebensraum* planned mass expansion of Germany eastwards to the **Ural Mountains**.^{[13][14]} Hitler planned for the “surplus” Russian population living west of the Urals to be deported to the east of the Urals.^[15]

6.1 Ideological background

6.1.1 Racial theories

Further information: **Master race**

Nazi racial ideology regarded the Germanic peoples of Europe as belonging to a racially superior Nordic subset of the larger **Aryan race**, who were regarded as the only true culture-bearers of civilized society.^[16] These peoples were viewed as either “true Germanic peoples” that had “lost their sense of racial pride”, or as close racial relatives of the Germans.^[17] German Chancellor **Adolf Hitler** also believed that the **Ancient Greeks** and **Romans** were the racial ancestors of the Germans, and the first torchbearers of “Nordic–Greek” art and culture.^{[18][19]} He particularly expressed his admiration for **Ancient Sparta**, declaring it to have been the purest racial state.^[20]

“The subjugation of 350,000 **Helots** by 6,000 Spartans was only possible because of the racial superiority of the Spartans.” The Spartans had created “the first racialist state.”^[21]

Furthermore, Hitler's concept of “Germanic” did not simply refer to an ethnic, cultural, or linguistic group, but also to a distinctly biological one, the superior “Germanic blood” that he wanted to salvage from the control of the enemies of the Aryan race. He stated that Germany possessed more of these “Germanic elements” than any other country in the world, which he estimated as “four fifths of our people”.^[22]

Wherever Germanic blood is to be found anywhere in the world, we will take what is good for ourselves. With what the others have left, they will be unable to oppose the Germanic Empire.

— Adolf Hitler, ^[23]

According to the Nazis, in addition to the Germanic peoples, individuals of seemingly non-Germanic nationality such as French, Polish, Walloon, Czech and so on might actually possess valuable Germanic blood, especially if they were of aristocratic or peasant stock.^[23] In order to “recover” these “missing” Germanic elements, they had to be made conscious of their Germanic ancestry through the process of Germanization (the term used by the Nazis for this process was *Umvolkung*, “restoration to the race”).^[23] If the “recovery” was impossible, these individuals had to be destroyed to deny the enemy of using their superior blood against the Aryan race.^[23] An example of this type of Nazi Germanization is the kidnapping of “racially valuable” Eastern European children.

On the very first page of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler openly declared his belief that “common blood belongs in a common Reich”, elucidating the notion that the innate quality of race (as the Nazi movement perceived it) should hold precedence over “artificial” concepts such as national identity (including regional German identities such as Prussian and Bavarian) as the deciding factor for which people were “worthy” of being assimilated into a Greater German racial state (*Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer*).^[24] Part of the strategic methods which Hitler chose to ensure the present and future supremacy of the Aryan race (which was, according to Hitler, “gradually approaching extinction”^[25]) was to do away with what he described as the “small state rubbish” (*Kleinstaatengerümpel*, compare *Kleinstaaterei*) in Europe in order to unite all these Nordic countries into one unified racial community.^[26] From 1921 onward he advocated the creation of a “Germanic Reich of the German Nation”.^[2]

It was the continent which brought civilization to Great Britain and in turn enabled her to colonize large areas in the rest of the world. America is unthinkable without Europe. Why would we not have the necessary power to become one of the world’s centres of attraction? A hundred-and-twenty million people of Germanic origin – if they have consolidated their position this will be a power against which no-one in the world could stand up to. The countries which form the Germanic world have only to gain from this. I can see that in my own case. My birth country is one of the most beautiful regions in the Reich, but what could it do if were left to its own devices? There is no possibility to develop one’s talents in countries like Austria or Saxony, Denmark or Switzerland. There is no foundation. That is why it is fortunate that potential new spaces are again opened for the Germanic peoples.
— Adolf Hitler, 1942.^[27]

6.1.2 Name

Further information: Reich

The chosen name for the projected empire was a deliberate reference to the Holy Roman Empire (of the German Nation) that existed in medieval times, known as the *First Reich* in National Socialist historiography.^[28] Different aspects of the legacy of this medieval empire in German history were both celebrated and derided by the National Socialist government. Hitler admired the Frankish Emperor Charlemagne for his “cultural creativity”, his powers of organization, and his renunciation of the rights of the individual.^[28] He criticized the Holy Roman Emperors however for not pursuing an *Ostpolitik* (Eastern Policy) resembling his own, while being politically focused exclusively on the south.^[28] After the *Anschluss*, Hitler ordered the old imperial regalia (the Imperial Crown, Imperial Sword, the Holy Lance and other items) residing in Vienna to be transferred to Nuremberg, where they were kept between 1424 and 1796.^[29] Nuremberg, in addition to being the former unofficial capital of the Holy Roman Empire, was also the place of the Nuremberg rallies. The transfer of the regalia was thus done to both legitimize Hitler’s Germany as the successor of the “Old Reich”, but also weaken Vienna, the former imperial residence.^[30]

After the 1939 German occupation of Bohemia, Hitler declared that the HRE had been “resurrected”, although he secretly maintained his own empire to be better than the old “Roman” one.^[31] Unlike the “uncomfortably internationalist Catholic empire of Barbarossa”, the Germanic Reich of the German Nation would be racist and nationalist.^[31] Rather than a return to the values of the Middle Ages, its establishment was to be “a push forward to a new golden age, in which the best aspects of the past would be combined with modern racist and nationalist thinking”.^[31]

The historical borders of the Holy Empire were also used as grounds for territorial revisionism by the NSDAP, laying claim to modern territories and states that were once part of it. Even before the war, Hitler had dreamed of reversing the Peace of Westphalia, which had given the territories of the Empire almost complete sovereignty.^[32] On November 17, 1939, Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels wrote in his diary that the “total liquidation” of this historic treaty was the “great goal” of the Nazi regime,^[32] and that since it had been signed in Münster, it would also be officially repealed in the same city.^[33]

6.1.3 Pan-Germanism versus Pan-Germanicism

Further information: [Pan-Germanism](#)

Despite intending to accord the other “Germanics” of Europe a racially superior status alongside the [Germans](#) themselves in an anticipated post-war racio-political order, the Nazis did not however consider granting the subject populations of these countries any national rights of their own.^[16] The other Germanic countries were seen as mere extensions of Germany rather than individual units in any way,^[16] and the Germans were unequivocally intended to remain the empire’s “most powerful source of strength, from both an ideological as well as military standpoint”.^[27] Even [Heinrich Himmler](#), who among the senior Nazis most staunchly supported the concept, could not shake off the idea of a hierarchical distinction between German *Volk* and Germanic *Völker*.^[34] The SS's official newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps*, never succeeded in reconciling the contradiction between Germanic 'brotherhood' and German superiority.^[34] Members of Nazi-type parties in Germanic countries were also forbidden to attend public meetings of the [Nazi Party](#) when they visited Germany. After the [Battle of Stalingrad](#) this ban was lifted, but only if the attendees made prior notice of their arrival so that the events’ speakers could be warned in advance not to make disparaging remarks about their country of origin.^[35]

Although Hitler himself and Himmler’s SS advocated for a pan-Germanic Empire, the objective was not universally held in the Nazi regime.^[36] Goebbels and the [Reich Foreign Ministry](#) under [Joachim von Ribbentrop](#) inclined more towards an idea of a continental bloc under German rule, as represented by the [Anti-Comintern Pact](#), Ribbentrop’s “[European Confederation](#)” project and the earlier *Mitteleuropa* concept.

6.1.4 Germanic mysticism

Further information: [Religious aspects of Nazism](#)

There were also disagreements within the NSDAP leadership on the spiritual implications of cultivating a 'Germanic history' in their ideological program. Hitler was highly critical of Himmler’s esoteric *völkisch* interpretation of the 'Germanic mission'. When Himmler denounced [Charlemagne](#) in a speech as “the butcher of the Saxons”, Hitler stated that this was not a 'historical crime' but in fact a good thing, for the subjugation of [Widukind](#) had brought [Western culture](#) into what eventually became [Germany](#).^[37] He also disapproved of the pseudoarchaeological projects which Himmler organized through his [Ahnenerbe](#) organization, such as excavations of pre-historic Germanic sites:

Why do we call the whole world’s attention to the fact that we have no past? It isn't enough that the [Romans](#) were erecting great buildings when our forefathers were still living in mud huts; now Himmler is starting to dig up these villages of mud huts and enthusing over every potsherd and stone axe he finds. All we prove by that is that we were still throwing stone hatchets and crouching around open fires when [Greece](#) and [Rome](#) had already reached the highest stage of culture. We really should do our best to keep quiet about this past. Instead Himmler makes a great fuss about it all. The [present-day Romans](#) must be having a laugh at these relegations.

— Adolf Hitler, ^[37]

In an attempt to eventually supplant [Christianity](#) with a religion more amenable to National Socialist ideology, Himmler, together with [Alfred Rosenberg](#), sought to replace it with [Germanic paganism](#) (the indigenous traditional religion or *Volksreligion* of the Germanic peoples), of which the Japanese [Shinto](#) was seen as an almost perfect East Asian counterpart.^[38] For this purpose they had ordered the construction of sites for the worship of Germanic cults in order to exchange [Christian rituals](#) for Germanic consecration ceremonies, which included different marriage and burial rites.^[38] In Heinrich Heims’ *Adolf Hitler, Monologe im FHQ 1941-1944* (several editions, here Orbis Verlag, 2000), Hitler is quoted as having said on 14 October 1941: “It seems to be inexpressibly stupid to allow a revival of the cult of Odin/Wotan. Our old mythology of the gods was defunct, and incapable of revival, when Christianity came...the whole world of antiquity either followed [philosophical systems](#) on the one hand, or worshipped the gods. But in modern times it is undesirable that all humanity should make such a fool of itself.”

6.2 Establishment strategy

The goal was first proclaimed publicly in the 1937 **Nuremberg Rallies**.^[39] Hitler's last speech at this event ended with the words "The German nation has after all acquired its Germanic Reich", which elicited speculation in political circles of a 'new era' in Germany's foreign policy.^[39] Several days before the event Hitler took **Albert Speer** aside when both were on their way to the former's Munich apartment with an entourage, and declared to him that "We will create a great empire. All the Germanic peoples will be included in it. It will begin in Norway and extend to **northern Italy**."^[nb 1]^[40] I myself must carry this out. If only I keep my health!"^[39] On April 9, 1940, as Germany invaded Denmark and Norway in **Operation Weserübung**, Hitler announced the establishment of the Germanic Reich:

Just as the **Bismarck Empire** arose from the year 1866, so too will the Greater Germanic Empire arise from this day.^[32]

The establishment of the empire was to follow the model of the **Austrian Anschluss** of 1938, just carried out on a greater scale.^[41] Goebbels emphasized in April 1940 that the annexed Germanic countries would have to undergo a similar "national revolution" as Germany herself did after the **Machtergreifung**, with an enforced rapid social and political "co-ordination" in accordance with Nazi principles and ideology (*Gleichschaltung*).^[41]

The ultimate goal of the *Gleichschaltung* policy pursued in these parts of occupied Europe was to destroy the very concepts of individual states and nationalities, just as the concept of a separate Austrian state and **national identity** was repressed after the *Anschluss* through the establishment of **new state and party districts**.^[42] The new empire was to no longer be a **nation-state** of the type that had emerged in the 19th century, but instead a "racially pure community".^[32] It is for this reason that the German occupiers had no interest in transferring real power to the various far-right **nationalist** movements present in the occupied countries (such as **Nasjonal Samling**, the **NSB**, etc.) except for temporary reasons of *Realpolitik*, and instead actively supported radical collaborators who favored pan-Germanic unity (i.e. total integration to Germany) over **provincial nationalism** (for example **DeVlag**).^[43] Unlike Austria and the **Sudetenland** however, the process was to take considerably longer.^[44] Eventually these nationalities were to be merged with the Germans into a single ruling race, but Hitler stated that this prospect lay "a hundred or so years" in the future. During this interim period it was intended that the 'New Europe' would be run by Germans alone.^[34] According to Speer, while Himmler intended to eventually **Germanize** these peoples completely, Hitler intended not to "infringe on their individuality" (that is, **their native languages**), so that in the future they would "add to the diversity and dynamism" of his empire.^[45] The **German language** would be its *lingua franca* however, likening it to the status of **English** in the **British Commonwealth**.^[45]

A primary agent used in stifling the local extreme nationalist elements was the **Germanic SS**, which initially merely consisted of local respective branches of the *Allgemeine-SS* in **Belgium**, **Netherlands** and **Norway**.^[46] These groups were at first under the authority of their respective pro-National Socialist national commanders (**De Clercq**, **Mussert** and **Quisling**), and were intended to function within their own national territories only.^[46] During the course of 1942, however, the Germanic SS was further transformed into a tool used by Himmler against the influence of the less extreme collaborating parties and their **SA**-style organizations, such as the *Hird* in Norway and the *Weerbaarheidsafdeling* in the Netherlands.^{[46][47]} In the post-war Germanic Empire, these men were to form the new leadership cadre of their respective national territories.^[48] To emphasize their pan-Germanic ideology, the *Norges SS* was now renamed the *Germanische SS Norge*, the *Nederlandsche SS* the *Germaansche SS in Nederland* and the *Algemeene-SS Vlaanderen* the *Germaansche SS in Vlaanderen*. The men of these groups no longer swore allegiance to their respective national leaders, but to the *germanischer Führer* ("Germanic **Führer**"), Adolf Hitler.^{[46][47]}

I swear to you, Adolf Hitler, as Germanic Führer loyalty and bravery. I pledge you and the superiors which you appointed obedience until death. So help me God.^[49]

This title was assumed by Hitler on 23 June 1941, at the suggestion of Himmler.^[49] On 12 December 1941 the Dutch right-wing nationalist **Anton Mussert** also addressed him in this fashion when he proclaimed his allegiance to Hitler during a visit to the **Reich Chancellery** in Berlin.^[50] He had wanted to address Hitler as *Führer aller Germanen* ("Führer of all Germanics"), but Hitler personally decreed the former style.^[49] Historian **Loe de Jong** speculates on the difference between the two: *Führer aller Germanen* implied a position separate from Hitler's role as *Führer und Reichskanzler des Grossdeutschen Reiches* ("Führer and **Reich Chancellor** of the Greater German Reich"), while *germanischer Führer* served more as an attribute of that main function.^[50] As late as 1944 occasional propaganda publications continued to refer to him by this unofficial title as well however.^[51] Mussert held that Hitler was predestined to become the Führer of Germanics because of his congruous personal history: Hitler originally was an

Austrian national, who enlisted in the **Bavarian army** and lost his Austrian citizenship. He thus remained **stateless** for seven years, during which, according to Mussert, he was “the Germanic leader and nothing else”.^[52]

The **Swastika Flag** was to be used as a symbol to represent not only the **National Socialist movement**, but also the unity of the Nordic-Germanic peoples into a single state.^[53] The **swastika** was seen by many National Socialists as a fundamentally Germanic and European symbol despite its presence among many cultures worldwide.

Hitler had long intended to **architecturally reconstruct** the German capital **Berlin** into a new imperial metropolis, which he decided in 1942 to rename *Germania* upon its scheduled completion in 1950. The name was specifically chosen to make it the clear central point of the envisioned Germanic empire, and to re-enforce the notion of a united Germanic-Nordic state upon the Germanic peoples of Europe.^[54]

Just as the **Bavarians** and the **Prussians** had to be impressed by **Bismarck** of the **German idea**, so too must the **Germanic peoples** of continental Europe be steered towards the Germanic concept. He [Hitler] even considers it good that by renaming the Reich capital Berlin into 'Germania', we'll have given considerable driving force to this task. The name Germania for the Reich capital would be very appropriate, for in spite of how far removed those belonging to the Germanic racial core will be, this capital will instill a sense of unity.
— Adolf Hitler, ^[55]

6.3 Policies undertaken in the countries

6.3.1 Low countries

Further information: **Reichskommissariat Niederlande**, **Military Administration in Belgium and Northern France**, and **German occupation of Luxembourg in World War II**

The German plans of annexation were more advanced for the **Low Countries** than for the **Nordic states**, due in part because of their closer geographical proximity as well as cultural, historical and ethnic ties to Germany. **Luxembourg** and **Belgium** were both formally annexed into the German Reich during World War II, in 1942 and 1944 respectively, the latter as the new *Reichsgaue* of **Flandern** and **Wallonien** (the proposed third one, **Brabant**, was not implemented in this arrangement) and a **Brussels District**. On April 5, 1942, while having dinner with an entourage including Heinrich Himmler, Hitler declared his intention that the Low Countries would be included whole into the Reich, at which point the *Greater German Reich* would be reformed into the *Germanic Reich* (simply “the Reich” in common parlance) to signify this change.^[27]

In October 1940 Hitler disclosed to **Benito Mussolini** that he intended to leave the **Netherlands** semi-independent because he wanted that country to retain its **overseas colonial empire** after the war.^[57] This factor was removed after the Japanese took over the **Netherlands East Indies**, the primary component of that domain.^[57] The resulting German plans for the Netherlands suggested its transformation into a *Gau Westland*, which would eventually be further broken-up into five new *Gaue* or *gewesten* (historical Dutch term for a type of sub-national polity). Fritz Schmidt, a ranking German official in the occupied Netherlands who hoped to become the **Gauleiter** of this new province on Germany's western periphery stated that it could even be called *Gau Holland*, as long as the **Wilhelmus** (the Dutch national anthem) and similar **patriotic symbols** were to be forbidden.^[58] **Rotterdam**, which had actually been **largely destroyed** in the course of the **1940 invasion** was to be rebuilt as the most important port-city in the “Germanic area” due to its situation at the mouth of the **Rhine river**.^[59]

Himmler's personal masseur **Felix Kersten** claimed that the former even contemplated **resettling** the entire **Dutch population**, some 8 million people in total at the time, to agricultural lands in the **Vistula** and **Bug River** valleys of **German-occupied Poland** as the most efficient way of facilitating their immediate Germanization.^[60] In this eventuality he is alleged to have further hoped to establish an *SS Province of Holland* in vacated Dutch territory, and to distribute all confiscated Dutch property and real estate among reliable SS-men.^[61] However this claim was shown to be a myth by **Loe de Jong** in his book *Two Legends of the Third Reich*.^[62]

The position in the future empire of the **Frisians**, another Germanic people, was discussed on 5 April 1942 in one of **Hitler's many wartime dinner-conversations**.^[27] Himmler commented that there was ostensibly no real sense of community between the different indigenous ethnic groups in the Netherlands. He then stated that the **Dutch Frisians** in particular seemed to hold no affection for being part of a nation-state based on the **Dutch national identity**, and felt a

much greater sense of kinship with their German Frisian brethren across the Ems River in East Frisia, an observation Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel agreed with based on his own experiences.^[27] Hitler determined that the best course of action in that case would be to unite the two Frisian regions on both sides of the border into a single province, and would at a later point in time further discuss the topic with Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the governor of the German regime in the Netherlands.^[27] By late May of that year these discussions were apparently concluded, as on the 29th he pledged that he would not allow the West-Frisians to remain part of Holland, and that since they were “part of the exact same race as the people of East Frisia” had to be joined into one province.^[63]

Hitler considered Wallonia to be “in reality German lands” which were gradually detached from the Germanic territories by the French Romanization of the Walloons, and that Germany thus had “every right” to take these back.^[12] Before the decision was made to include Wallonia in its entirety, several smaller areas straddling the traditional Germanic-Romance language border in Western Europe were already considered for inclusion. These included the small Lëtzebuergish-speaking area centred on Arlon,^[64] as well as the Low Dietsch-speaking region west of Eupen (the so-called *Platdietsche Streek*) around the city of Limbourg, historical capital of the Duchy of Limburg.^[65]

6.3.2 Scandinavia

Further information: Reichskommissariat Norwegen, Occupation of Denmark, Sweden during World War II, Military history of Finland during World War II, and Operation Ikarus

After their invasion in Operation Weserübung, Hitler vowed that he would never again leave Norway,^[59] and favored annexing Denmark as a German province even more due to its small size and relative closeness to Germany.^[66] Himmler's hopes were an expansion of the project so that Iceland would also be included among the group of Germanic countries which would have to be gradually incorporated into the Reich.^[66] He was also among the group of more esoteric National Socialists who believed either Iceland or Greenland to be the mystical land of Thule, a purported original homeland of the ancient Aryan race.^[67] From a military point of view, the Kriegsmarine command hoped to see the Spitsbergen, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Isles and possibly the Shetland Isles (which were also claimed by the Quisling regime^[68]) under its domination to guarantee German naval access to the mid-Atlantic.^[69]

There was preparation for the construction of a new German metropolis of 300.000 inhabitants called *Nordstern* ("North Star") next to the Norwegian city of Trondheim. It would be accompanied by a new naval base that was intended to be the Germany's largest.^{[59][70]} This city was to be connected to Germany proper by an *Autobahn* across the Little and Great Belts. It would also house an art museum for the northern part of the Germanic empire, housing “only works of German artists.”^[71]

Sweden's future subordination into the 'New Order' was considered by the regime.^[72] Himmler stated that the Swedes were the “epitome of the Nordic spirit and the Nordic man”, and looked forward to incorporating central and southern Sweden to the Germanic Empire.^[72] Himmler offered northern Sweden, with its Finnish minority, to Finland, along with the Norwegian port of Kirkenes, although this suggestion was rejected by Finnish Foreign Minister Witting.^{[73][74]} Felix Kersten, claimed that Himmler had expressed regret that Germany had not occupied Sweden during Operation Weserübung, but was certain that this error was to be rectified after the war.^[75] In April 1942, Goebbels expressed similar views in his diary, writing that Germany should have occupied the country during its campaign in the north, as “this state has no right to national existence anyway”.^[76] In 1940, Hermann Göring suggested that Sweden's future position in the Reich was similar to that of Bavaria in the German Empire.^[72] The ethnically Swedish Åland Islands, which were awarded to Finland by the League of Nations in 1921, were likely to join Sweden in the Germanic Empire. In the spring of 1941, the German military attaché in Helsinki reported to his Swedish counterpart that Germany would need transit rights through Sweden for the imminent invasion of the Soviet Union, and in the case of finding her cooperative would permit the Swedish annexation of the islands.^[77] Hitler did veto the idea of a complete union between the two states of Sweden and Finland, however.^[78]

Despite the majority of its people being of Finno-Ugric origin, Finland was given the status of being an "honorary Nordic nation" (from a National Socialist racial perspective, not a national one) by Hitler as reward for its military importance in the ongoing conflict against the Soviet Union.^[78] The Swedish-speaking minority of the country, who in 1941 comprised 9.6% of the total population, were considered Nordic and were initially preferred over Finnish speakers in recruitment for the Finnish Volunteer Battalion of the Waffen-SS.^[79] Finland's Nordic status did not mean however that it was intended to be absorbed into the Germanic Empire, but instead expected to become the guardian of Germany's northern flank against the hostile remnants of a conquered USSR by attaining control over Karelian territory, occupied by the Finns in 1941.^[78] Hitler also considered the Finnish and Karelian climates unsuitable for German colonization.^[80] Even so, the possibility of Finland's eventual inclusion as a federated state in the empire

as a long-term objective was mulled over by Hitler in 1941, but by 1942 he seems to have abandoned this line of thinking.^[80] According to Kersten, as Finland signed an armistice with the Soviet Union and broke off diplomatic relations with her former brother-in-arms Germany in September 1944, Himmler felt remorse for not eliminating the Finnish state, government and its "masonic" leadership sooner, and transforming the country into a "National Socialist Finland with a Germanic outlook".^[81]

6.3.3 Switzerland

Further information: Operation Tannenbaum

The same implicit hostility toward neutral nations such as Sweden was also held towards Switzerland. Goebbels noted in his diary on December 18, 1941, that "It would be a veritable insult to God if they [the neutrals] would not only survive this war unscathed while the major powers make such great sacrifices, but also profit from it. We will certainly make sure that this will not happen."^[82]

The Swiss people were seen by Nazi ideologists as a mere offshoot of the German nation, although one led astray by decadent Western ideals of democracy and materialism.^[83] Hitler decried the Swiss as "a misbegotten branch of our Volk" and the Swiss state as "a pimple on the face of Europe" deeming them unsuitable for settling the territories that the Nazis expected to colonize in Eastern Europe.^[84]

Himmler discussed plans with his subordinates to integrate at least the German-speaking parts of Switzerland completely with the rest of Germany, and had several persons in mind for the post of a Reichskommissar for the 're-union' of Switzerland with the German Reich (in analogy to the office that Josef Bürckel held after Austria's absorption into Germany during the *Anschluss*). Later this official was to subsequently become the new Reichsstatthalter of the area after completing its total assimilation.^{[10][85]} In August 1940, Gauleiter of Westfalen-South Josef Wagner and the Minister President of Baden Walter Köhler spoke in favor of the amalgamation of Switzerland to *Reichsgau Burgund* (see below) and suggested that the seat of government for this new administrative territory should be the dormant *Palais des Nations* in Geneva.^[86]

Operation Tannenbaum, a military offensive intended to occupy all of Switzerland, most likely in co-operation with Italy (which itself desired the Italian-speaking areas of Switzerland), was in the planning stages during 1940-1941. Its implementation was seriously considered by the German military after the armistice with France, but it was definitively shelved after the start of Operation Barbarossa had directed the attention of the Wehrmacht elsewhere.^[87]

6.3.4 Eastern France

Further information: German occupation of France during World War II, Vichy France, Atlantic Wall, and SS State of Burgundy

In the aftermath of the Munich Agreement, Hitler and French Prime Minister Édouard Daladier in December 1938 made an agreement that officially declared that Germany was relinquishing its previous territorial claims on Alsace-Lorraine in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations between France and Germany and both pledged to be involved in mutual consultation on matters involving the interests of both countries.^[88] However at the same time Hitler in private advised the High Command of the Wehrmacht to prepare operational plans for a joint German-Italian war against France.^[88]

Under the auspices of State Secretary Wilhelm Stuckart the Reich Interior Ministry produced an initial memo for the planned annexation of a strip of eastern France in June 1940, stretching from the mouth of the Somme to Lake Geneva,^[89] and on July 10, 1940, Himmler toured the region to inspect its Germanization potential.^[32] According to documents produced in December 1940, the annexed territory would consist of nine French departments, and the Germanization action would require the settlement of a million Germans from "peasant families".^[32] Himmler decided that South Tyrolean emigrants (see South Tyrol Option Agreement) would be used as settlers, and the towns of the region would receive South Tyrolean place-names such as Bozen, Brixen, Meran, and so on.^[90] By 1942 Hitler had, however, decided that the South Tyroleans would be instead used to settle the Crimea, and Himmler regretfully noted "For Burgundy, we will just have to find another [Germanic] ethnic group."^[91]

Hitler claimed French territory even beyond the historical border of the Holy Roman Empire. He stated that in order to ensure German hegemony on the continent, Germany must "also retain military strong points on what was formerly the French Atlantic coast" and emphasized that "nothing on earth would persuade us to abandon such safe positions as



Western Europe in the time of Charles V (1525). The Holy Roman Empire is marked by the red borders.

those on the Channel coast, captured during the campaign in France and consolidated by the Organisation Todt.”^[92] Several major French cities along the coast were given the designation *Festung* (“fortress”; “stronghold”) by Hitler, such as Le Havre, Brest and St. Nazaire,^[93] suggesting that they were to remain under permanent post-war German administration.

However the war ends, France will have to pay dearly, for she caused and started it. She is now

being thrown back to her borders of AD 1500. This means that Burgundy will again become part of the Reich. We shall thereby win a province that so far as beauty and wealth are concerned compares more than favorably with any other German province.

— Joseph Goebbels, 26 April 1942, ^[94]

6.3.5 Atlantic islands

During the summer of 1940, Hitler considered the possibility of occupying the Portuguese *Azores*, *Cape Verde* and *Madeira* and the Spanish *Canary islands* to deny the British a staging ground for military actions against Nazi-controlled Europe.^{[25][95]} In September 1940, Hitler further raised the issue in a discussion with the Spanish Foreign Minister *Serrano Súñer*, offering now Spain to transfer one of the Canary islands to German usage for the price of *French Morocco*.^[95] Although Hitler's interest in the Atlantic islands must be understood from a framework imposed by the military situation of 1940, he ultimately had no plans of ever releasing these important naval bases from German control.^[95]

It had been alleged by Canadian historian Holger Herwig that both in November 1940 and May 1941, leading into and through to the period in which Japan began planning the *naval attack* that would bring the United States into the war,^[96] that Hitler had stated that he had a desire to “deploy long-range bombers against American cities from the *Azores*.” Due to their location, Hitler seemed to think that a Luftwaffe airbase located on the Portuguese Azores islands were Germany's “only possibility of carrying out aerial attacks from a land base against the United States”, in a period about a year before the May 1942 emergence of the *Amerika Bomber* trans-oceanic range strategic bomber design competition.^[97]

6.3.6 Poland

Relations between Germany and Poland altered from the early to the late 1930s. While Hitler and Nazi party before taking power openly talked about destroying Poland and were hostile to Poles, after gaining power until February 1939 Hitler tried to conceal his true intentions towards Poland and revealed them only to his closest associates; the signing of non-aggression pact with Poland in 1934 was a political maneuver to conceal his true intentions towards Poland.^[6] The German Reich publicly claimed to seek rapprochement with Poland to avoid Poland entering the Soviet sphere of influence, and appealed to anti-Soviet sentiment in Poland.^[98] The Soviet Union in turn at this time competed with Germany for influence in Poland.^[98] In 1934 Poland reached several agreements with Germany. One was an agreement on the treatment of minorities in both countries.^[99] The other was a non-aggression pact in which both countries agreed to peaceful settlement of disputes, including that over territory; the agreement however still regarded the two countries as not having settled their borders.^[7] At this time, Germany sought to convince Poland that it would allow for Polish existence should Germany invade the Soviet Union resulting in Germany taking lebensraum from the Soviet Union, by offering Poland the right to annex the entirety of Ukraine from the Soviet Union while Germany would annex other Soviet territories.^[7] In 1937, Germany condemned Poland for violating the minorities agreement, but publicly proposed that it would accept a resolution whereby Germany would reciprocally accept the Polish demand for Germany abandon assimilation of Polish minorities if Poland upheld its agreement to abandon assimilation of Germans.^[99]

Germany's proposal was met with resistance in Poland, particularly by the Polish Western Union (PZZ) and the opposition party National Democratic party, with Poland only agreeing to a watered down version of the Joint Declaration on Minorities, on 5 November 1937.^[99] Hitler welcomed this agreement and meet with representatives of Polish government and representatives of Polish minority in Germany, but in secret was frustrated and held a meeting where he declared to prepare Germany for a war to destroy Poland.^[99] However, later in December 1938, Hitler indicated to his confidants that he was still interested in utilizing Poland in a war against the Soviet Union, claiming that Polish soldiers fighting alongside Germany against the Soviet Union would be beneficial in that it would reduce the need for German manpower in the fighting.^[7] At the same time Nazi Germany has been secretly preparing German minority in Poland for war and since 1935 weapons were being smuggled and gathered in frontier Polish regions by Nazi intelligence, and spying networks established.^[100] In November 1938, Nazi Germany organized German paramilitary units in Polish Pomerania that were to engage in diversion, sabotage as well as murder and ethnic cleansing upon German invasion of Poland.^[100] At the end of 1938 one of the first editions of *Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen* was printed by the Nazis, containing several thousand names of Poles targeted for execution and imprisonment after invasion of Poland.^[101] In January 1939, Ribbentrop held negotiations with *Józef Beck*, the Polish minister of foreign affairs; and *Edward Rydz-Śmigły*, the commander-in-chief of the Polish Army; in which Ribbentrop urged them to have

Poland enter the Anti-Comintern Pact under German hegemony for expansion eastward, whereby Germany offered Poland territories in Slovakia and Ukraine.^[7]

Ribbentrop in private discussion with German officials stated that he hoped that by offering Poland territories in the Soviet Union, that Germany would gain not only from Polish cooperation in a war with the Soviet Union, but also that Poland would surrender Polish Corridor to Germany in exchange for these gains, because though it would lose access to the **Baltic Sea**, it would gain access to the **Black Sea** via Ukraine.^[7] However Beck refused German demands to annex territory inhabited by majority of Poles and connecting majority of Polish exports and imports with the outside world and was shocked at the idea of a war with the Soviet Union.^[7] Polish administration saw the plan as a threat to Polish sovereignty, practically subordinating Poland to the Axis and the Anti-Comintern Bloc while reducing the country to a state of near-servitude as its entire trade would be dependent on Germany.^[102] With the aftermath of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and creation of a German client state of Slovakia, the German government believed that Poland would yield to German demands, however it did not.^[7] In private, Hitler revealed in May that Danzig was not the real issue to him, but pursuit of Lebensraum for Germany.^[7]

6.4 Role of Britain

6.4.1 United Kingdom

Further information: **Operation Sea Lion**

The one Germanic-language speaking country that was not included in the Pan-Germanic unification aim was the



An elaborate map of the British Empire in 1886, marked in the traditional red colour for imperial British dominions on maps

United Kingdom,^[103] in spite of its near-universal acceptance by the Nazi government as being part of the Germanic world.^[104] Leading Nordic ideologist Hans F. K. Günther theorized that the Anglo-Saxons had been more successful than the Germans in maintaining racial purity and that the coastal and island areas of Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall and Wales had received additional Nordic blood through Norse raids and colonization during the Viking Age, and the Anglo-Saxons of **East Anglia** and Northern England had been under Danish rule in the 9th and 10th centuries.^[105] Günther referred to this historical process as *Aufnordung* (“additional nordification”), which finally culminated in the

Norman conquest of England in 1066.^[105] Britain was thus a nation created by struggle and the survival of the fittest among the various Aryan peoples of the isles, and was able to pursue global conquest and empire-building because of its superior racial heredity born through this development.^[106]

Hitler professed an admiration for the imperial might of the British Empire in *Zweites Buch* as proof of the racial superiority of the Aryan race,^[107] hoping that Germany would emulate British “ruthlessness” and “absence of moral scruples” in establishing its own colonial empire in Eastern Europe.^[108] One of his primary foreign policy aims throughout the 1930s was to establish a military alliance with both the English (Hitler conflated England with Britain and the United Kingdom in his writings and speeches) as well as the Italians to neutralize France as a strategic threat to German security for eastward expansion.

When it became apparent to the National Socialist leadership that the United Kingdom was not interested in a military alliance, anti-British policies were adopted to ensure the attainment of Germany’s war aims. Even during the war however, hope remained that Britain would in time yet become a reliable German ally.^[109] Hitler preferred to see the British Empire preserved as a world power, because its break-up would benefit other countries far more than it would Germany, particularly the United States and Japan.^[109] In fact, Hitler’s strategy during 1935-1937 for winning Britain over was based on a German guarantee of defence of the British Empire.^[110] After the war, Ribbentrop testified that in 1935 Hitler had promised to deliver twelve German divisions to the disposal of Britain for maintaining the integrity of her colonial possessions.^[111]

The continued military actions against Britain after the fall of France had the strategic goal of making Britain ‘see the light’ and conduct an armistice with the Axis powers, with July 1, 1940, being named by the Germans as the “probable date” for the cessation of hostilities.^[112] On May 21, 1940, Franz Halder, the head of the Army General Staff, after a consultation with Hitler concerning the aims envisaged by the Führer during the present war, wrote in his diary: “We are seeking contact with Britain on the basis of partitioning the world”.^[113]

One of Hitler’s sub-goals for the invasion of Russia was to win over Britain to the German side. He believed that after the military collapse of the USSR, “within a few weeks” Britain would be forced either into a surrender or else come to join Germany as a “junior partner” in the Axis.^[114] Britain’s role in this alliance was reserved to support German naval and aerial military actions against the USA in a fight for world supremacy conducted from the Axis power bases of Europe, Africa and the Atlantic.^[115] On August 8, 1941, Hitler stated that he looked forward to the eventual day when “England and Germany [march] together against America” and on January 7, 1942, he daydreamed that it was “not impossible” for Britain to quit the war and join the Axis side, leading to a situation where “it will be a German-British army that will chase the Americans from Iceland”.^[116] National Socialist ideologist Alfred Rosenberg hoped that after the victorious conclusion of the war against the USSR, Englishmen, along with other Germanic nationalities, would join the German settlers in colonizing the conquered eastern territories.^[123]

From a historical perspective Britain’s situation was likened to that which the Austrian Empire found itself in after it was defeated by the Kingdom of Prussia in the Battle of Königgrätz in 1866.^[109] As Austria was thereafter formally excluded from German affairs, so too would Britain be excluded from continental affairs in the event of a German victory. Yet afterwards, Austria-Hungary became a loyal ally of the German Empire in the pre-World War I power alignments in Europe, and it was hoped that Britain would come to fulfill this same role.^[109]

6.4.2 Channel Islands

Further information: Occupation of the Channel Islands

The British Channel Islands were to be permanently integrated into the Germanic Empire.^[117] On July 22, 1940, Hitler stated that after the war, the islands were to be given to the control of Robert Ley’s German Labour Front, and transferred into *Strength Through Joy* holiday resorts.^[118] German scholar Karl Heinz Pfeffer toured the islands in 1941, and recommended that the German occupiers should appeal to the islanders’ Norman heritage and treat the islands as “Germanic micro-states”, whose union with Britain was only an accident of history.^[119] He likened the preferred policy concerning the islands similar to the one pursued by the British in Malta, where the Maltese language had been “artificially” supported against the Italian language.^[119]

6.4.3 Ireland

Further information: Operation Green (Ireland)



British Free Corps of the Waffen SS with German officers, April 1944

A military operation plan for the invasion of Ireland in support of Operation Sea Lion was drawn up by the Germans in August 1940. Occupied Ireland was to be ruled along with Britain in a temporary administrative system divided into six military-economic commands, with one of the headquarters being situated in Dublin.^[120] Ireland's future position in the New Order is unclear, but it is known that Hitler would have united Ulster with the Irish state.^[121]

6.5 Role of Northern Italy

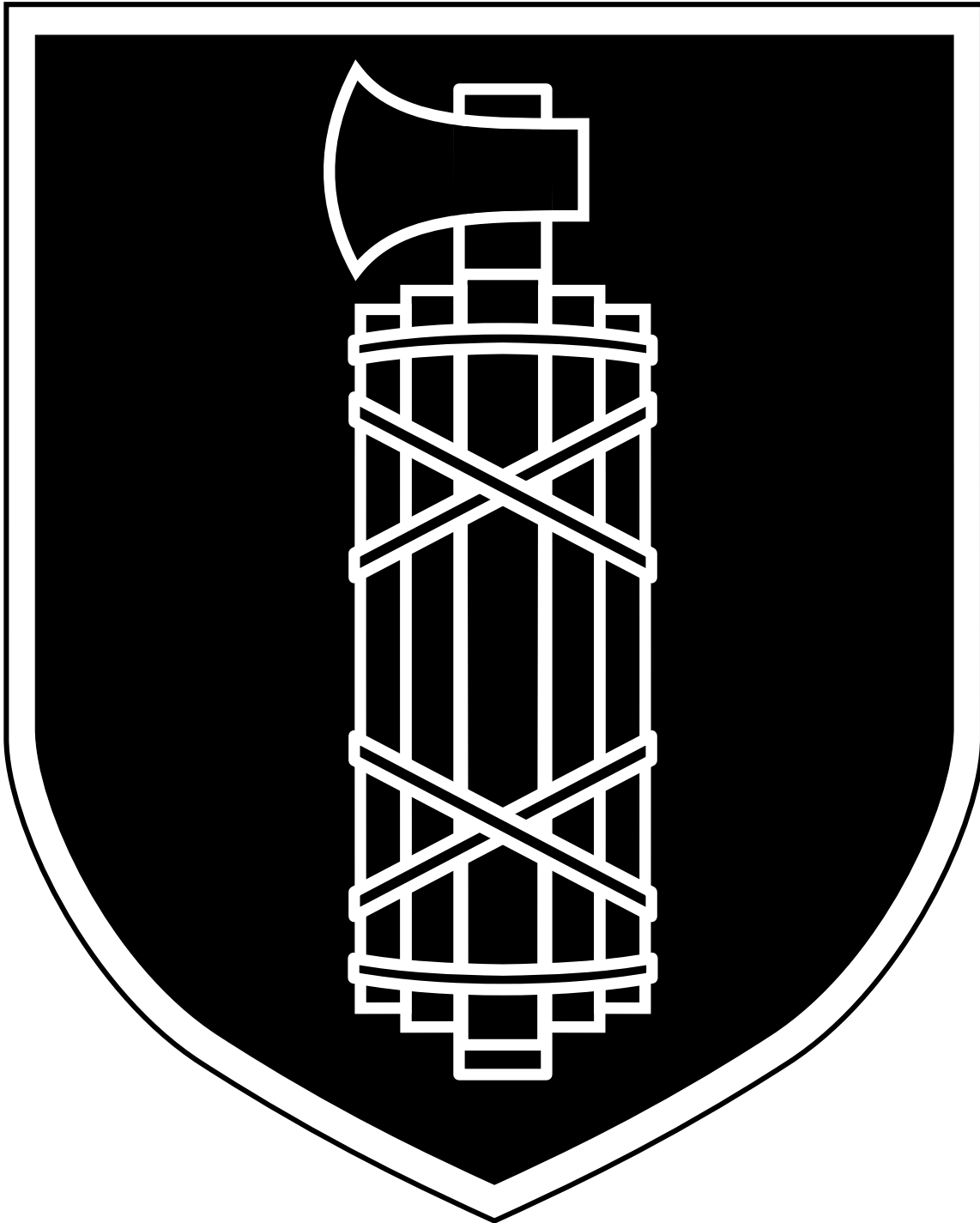
Further information: South Tyrol Option Agreement, Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, and Operational Zone of the Alpine Foothills

Hitler regarded northern Italians to be strongly Aryan^[122] but not southern Italians.^[123] He even admitted that The



The Iron Crown of Lombardy, used for the coronation of the kings of Italy until 1946.

Ahnenerbe, an archaeological organization associated with the SS, asserted that archaeological evidence proved the presence of Nordic-Germanic peoples in the region of South Tyrol in the Neolithic era that it claimed proved the significance of ancient Nordic-Germanic influence on northern Italy.^[124] The NSDAP regime regarded the ancient Romans to have been largely a people of the Mediterranean race however they claimed that the Roman ruling classes were Nordic, descended from Aryan conquerors from the North; and that this Nordic Aryan minority was responsible for the rise of Roman civilization.^[125] The National Socialists viewed the downfall of the Roman Empire as being the result of the deterioration of the purity of the Nordic Aryan ruling class through its intermixing with the inferior Mediterranean types that led to the empire's decay.^[125] In addition, racial intermixing in the population in general was also blamed for Rome's downfall, claiming that Italians were a hybrid of races, including black African races. Due to the darker complexion of Mediterranean peoples, Hitler regarded them as having traces of Negroid blood and therefore did not have strong Nordic Aryan heritage and were thus inferior to those that had stronger Nordic heritage.^[126] Hitler held immense admiration for the Roman Empire and its legacy.^[127] Hitler praised post-Roman era achievements of northern Italians such as Sandro Botticelli, Michelangelo, Dante Alighieri, and Benito Mussolini.^[128] The Nazis ascribed the great achievements of post-Roman era northern Italians to the presence of Nordic racial heritage in such people who via their Nordic heritage had Germanic ancestors, such as NSDAP Foreign Affairs official Alfred Rosenberg recognizing Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci as exemplary Nordic men of history.^[129] German official Hermann Hartmann wrote that Italian scientist Galileo Galilei was clearly Nordic with deep Germanic roots because of his blond hair, blue eyes, and long face.^[129] The Nazis claimed that aside from biologically Nordic people that a Nordic soul could inhabit a non-Nordic body.^[130] Hitler emphasized the role of Germanic influence in Northern Italy, such as stating that the art of Northern Italy was "nothing but pure German",^[131] and National Socialist scholars viewed that the Ladin and Friulian minorities of Northern Italy were racially, historically and culturally a part of the Germanic world.^[132] To put it bluntly, Hitler declared in private talks that the modern Reich should emulate the racial policy of the old Roman-Germanic Holy Empire, by annexing the Italian lands and especially Lombardy, whose population had well preserved their original Germanic Aryan character, unlike the lands of East Europe, with its racially alien population, scarcely marked by a Germanic contribution.^[133] According to him, German are more closely linked with the Italians than with any other people.^[131] Plans to incorporate northern Italy into the Greater Germanic Reich were influenced by the collapse of the fascist Italian government in 1943.



Emblem of the Italian SS.

“From the cultural point of view, we are more closely linked with the Italians than with any other people. The art of Northern Italy is something we have in common with them: nothing but pure Germans. The objectionable Italian type is found only in the South, and not everywhere even there. We also have this type in our own country. When I think of them: Vienna-Ottakring, Munich-Giesing, Berlin-Pankow ! If I compare the two types, that of these degenerate Italians and our type, I find it very difficult to say which of the two is the more antipathetic.”

The Nazi regime’s stances in regards to northern Italy was influenced by the regime’s relations with the Italian government, and particularly Mussolini’s Fascist regime. Hitler deeply admired and emulated Mussolini. Hitler emphasized the racial closeness of his ally Mussolini to Germans of Alpine racial heritage.^[134] Hitler regarded Mussolini to not be seriously contaminated by the blood of the Mediterranean race.^[128] Other National Socialists had negative views of

Mussolini and the Fascist regime. The NSDAP's first leader, **Anton Drexler** was one of the most extreme in his negative views of Mussolini – claiming that Mussolini was “probably” a Jew and that Fascism was a Jewish movement.^[135] In addition there was a perception in Germany of Italians being racially weak, feckless, corrupt and corrupting, bad soldiers as perceived as demonstrated at the **Battle of Caporetto** in World War I, for being part of the powers that established the Treaty of Versailles, and for being a treacherous people given Italy's abandonment of the **Triple Alliance** with Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I to join the Entente.^[135] Hitler responded to the review of Italy betraying Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I by saying that this was a consequence of Imperial Germany's decision to focus its attention on upholding the moribund Austro-Hungarian empire while ignoring and disregarding the more promising Italy.^[135]

The region of South Tyrol had been a place of contending claims and conflict between **German nationalism** and **Italian nationalism**. One of the leading founders of Italian nationalism, **Giuseppe Mazzini**, along with **Ettore Tolomei**, claimed that the German-speaking South Tyrolian population were in fact mostly a Germanicized population of Roman origin who needed to be “liberated and returned to their rightful culture”.^[136] With the defeat of **Austria-Hungary** in World War I, the peace treaty designated to Italy the South Tyrol, with its border with Austria along the **Brenner Pass**.^[136] The Italian Fascist regime pursued **Italianization** of South Tyrol, by restricting use of the German language while promoting the Italian language; promoting mass migration of Italians into the region, encouraged mainly through industrialization; and resettlement of the German-speaking population.^[137]

After Mussolini had made clear in 1922 that he would never give up the region of South Tyrol from being in Italy, Hitler adopted this position.^[138] Hitler in *Mein Kampf* had declared that concerns over the rights of Germans in South Tyrol under Italian sovereignty was a non-issue considering the advantages that would be gained from a German-Italian alliance with Mussolini's Fascist regime.^[139] In *Mein Kampf* Hitler also made clear that he was opposed to having a war with Italy for the sake of obtaining South Tyrol.^[138] This position by Hitler of abandoning German land claims to South Tyrol produced aggravation among some NSDAP members who up to the late 1920s found it difficult to accept the position.^[140]

On 7 May 1938, Hitler during a public visit to **Rome** declared his commitment to the existing border between Germany (that included Austria upon the Anschluss) and Italy at the Brenner Pass.^[141]

In 1939, Hitler and Mussolini resolved the problem of self-determination of Germans and maintaining the **Brenner Pass** frontier by an agreement in which German South Tyroleans were given the choice of either assimilation into Italian culture, or leave South Tyrol for Germany; most opted to leave for Germany.^[141]

After King **Victor Emmanuel III** of the Kingdom of Italy removed Mussolini from power, Hitler on 28 July 1943 was preparing for the expected abandonment of the Axis for the Allies by the Kingdom of Italy's new government, and was preparing to exact retribution for the expected betrayal by planning to partition Italy.^[142] In particular Hitler was considering the creation of a “Lombard State” in northern Italy that would be incorporated into the Greater Germanic Reich, while South Tyrol and Venice would be annexed directly into Germany.^[142]

In the aftermath of the Kingdom of Italy's abandonment of the Axis on 8 September 1943, Germany seized and *de facto* incorporated Italian territories into its direct control.^[143]

After the Kingdom of Italy capitulated to the Allies in September 1943, according to Goebbels in his personal diary on 29 September 1943, wrote that Hitler had expressed that the Italian-German border should extend to those of the region of **Veneto**.^[144] Veneto was to be included into the Reich in an “autonomous form”, and to benefit from the post-war influx of German tourists.^[144] At the time when Italy was on the verge of declaring an armistice with the Allies, Himmler declared to **Felix Kersten** that Northern Italy, along with the **Italian-speaking** part of Switzerland, was “bound to eventually be included in Greater Germany anyway”.^[145]

Whatever was once an **Austrian possession** we must get back into our own hands. The Italians by their infidelity and treachery have lost any claim to a national state of the modern type.
— **Joseph Goebbels**, September 1943, ^[146]

After the rescue of Mussolini and the establishment of the **Italian Social Republic (RSI)**, in spite of urging by local German officials, Hitler refused to officially annex South Tyrol, instead he decided that the RSI should hold official sovereignty over these territories, and forbade all measures that would give the impression of official annexation of South Tyrol.^[147] However, in practice the territory of South Tyrol within the boundaries defined by Germany as *Operationszone Alpenvorland* that included Trent, Bolzano, and Belluno, were *de facto* incorporated into Germany's *Reichsgau Tirol-Vorarlberg* and administered by its *Gauleiter* **Franz Hofer**.^{[143][148]} While the region identified by Germany as *Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland* that included Udine, Gorizia, Trieste, Pola, Fiume (Rijeka), and

Ljubljana were *de facto* incorporated into *Reichsgau Kärnten* and administered by its *Gauleiter Friedrich Rainer*.^[149]

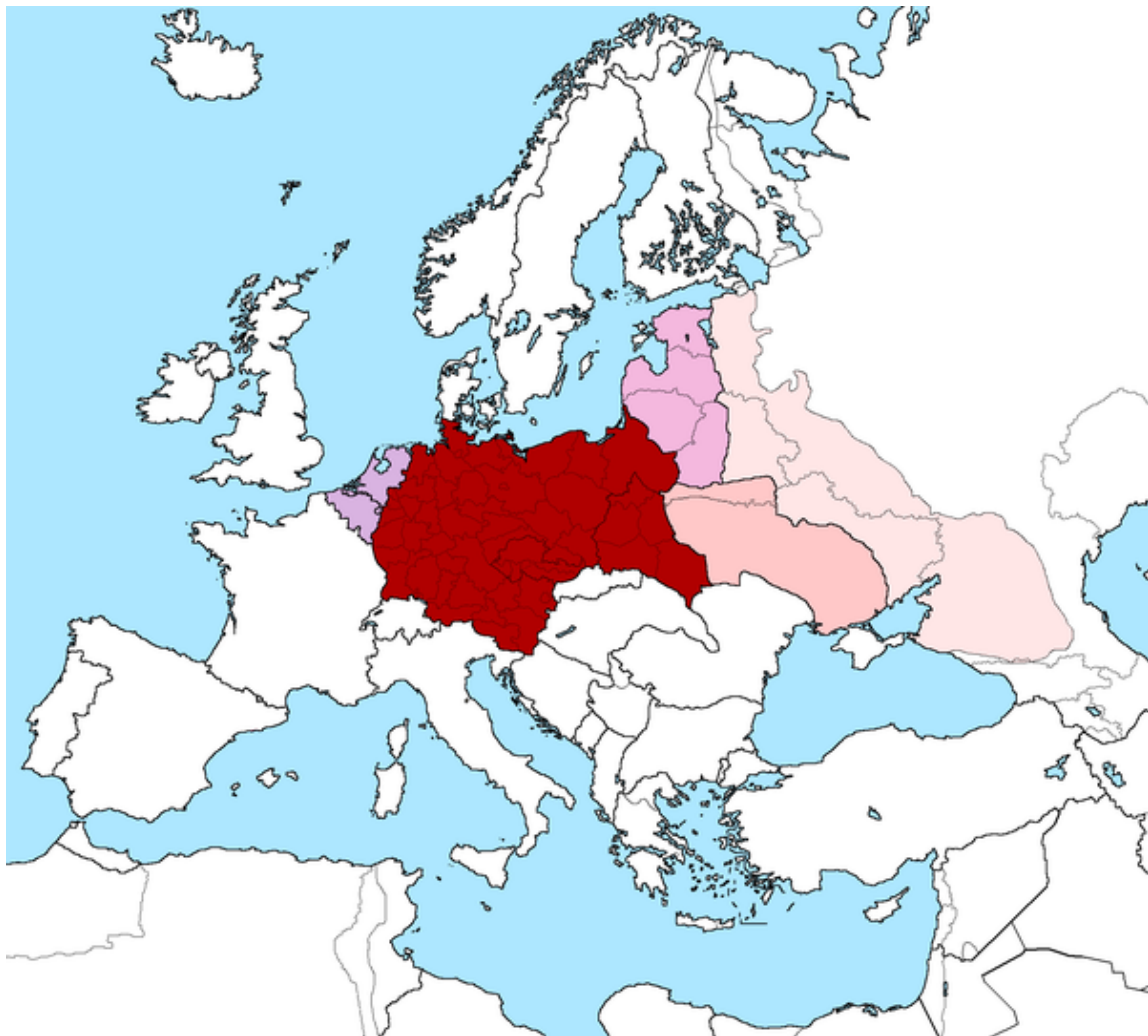
In a supplementary OKW order dated 10 September 1943, Hitler decrees on the establishment of further Operational Zones in Northern Italy, which were the stretch all the way to the French border.^[150] Unlike *Alpenvorland* and *Küstenland*, these zones did not immediately receive high commissioners (*oberster kommissar*) as civilian advisors, but were military regions where the commander was to exercise power on behalf of Army Group B.^[150] Operation zone *Nordwest-Alpen* or *Schweizer Grenze* was located between the *Stelvio Pass* and *Monte Rosa* and was to contain wholly the Italian provinces of *Sondrio* and *Como* and parts of the provinces of *Brescia*, *Varese*, *Novara* and *Vercelli*.^[151] The zone of *Französische Grenze* was to encompass areas west of *Monte Rosa* and was to incorporate the province of *Aosta* and a part of the *province of Turin*, and presumably also the provinces of *Cuneo* and *Imperia*.^[151]

From Autumn 1943 onward, members of the *Ahnenerbe*, associated with the SS, asserted that archaeological evidence of ancient farmsteads and architecture proved the presence of Nordic-Germanic peoples in the region of South Tyrol in the Neolithic era including prototypical Lombard style architecture, the significance of ancient Nordic-Germanic influence on Italy, and most importantly that South Tyrol by its past and present and historic racial and cultural circumstances, was “Nordic-Germanic national soil”.^[124]

6.6 Expected participation in the colonization of Eastern Europe

Further information: *Generalplan Ost* and *Wehrbauer*

Despite the pursued aim of pan-Germanic unification, the primary goal of the German Reich’s territorial expansionism



Großdeutsches Reich in 1942, with *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (upper centre), *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* (lower right), and (never fully realized) *Reichskommissariat Moskowien*

was to acquire sufficient *Lebensraum* (living space) in Eastern Europe for the Germanic *übermenschen* or superior men. The primary objective of this aim was to transform Germany into a complete economic autarky, the end-result of which would be a state of continent-wide German hegemony over Europe. This was to be accomplished through the enlargement of the territorial base of the German state and the expansion of the German population,^[152] and the wholesale extermination of the indigenous Slavic inhabitants and the Germanisation of Baltic inhabitants.^[153]

[on German colonization of Russia] As for the two or three million men whom we need to accomplish this task, we will find them more quickly than we think. They will come from Germany, Scandinavia, the western countries, and America. I shall no longer be here to see all that, but in twenty years the Ukraine will already be a home for twenty million inhabitants besides the natives.
— Adolf Hitler, ^[154]

Because of their perceived racial worth, the NSDAP leadership was enthusiastic at the prospect of “recruiting” people from the Germanic countries to also settle these territories after the Slavic inhabitants would have been driven out.^[155] The racial planners were partly motivated in this because studies indicated that Germany would likely not be able to recruit enough colonial settlers for the eastern territories from its own country and other Germanic groups would therefore be required.^[153] Hitler insisted however that German settlers would have to dominate the newly colonized areas.^[17] Himmler’s original plan for the Hegewald settlement was to settle Dutch and Scandinavians there in addition to Germans, which was unsuccessful.^[156]

6.7 Later development

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Hitler’s preoccupation with the Pan-Germanic plan began to fade, although the idea was never abandoned. As the foreign volunteers of the Waffen-SS were increasingly of non-Germanic origin, especially after the Battle of Stalingrad, among the organization’s leadership (e.g. Felix Steiner) the proposition for a Greater Germanic Empire gave way to a concept of a European union of self-governing states, unified by German hegemony and the common enemy of Bolshevism.^[157] The Waffen-SS was to be the eventual nucleus of a common European army where each state would be represented by a national contingent.^[157] Himmler himself, however, gave no concession to these views, and held on to his Pan-Germanic vision in a speech given in April 1943 to the officers of SS divisions *LSAH*, *Das Reich* and *Totenkopf*:

We do not expect you to renounce your nation. [...] We do not expect you to become German out of opportunism. We do expect you to subordinate your national ideal to a greater racial and historical ideal, to the Germanic Reich.^[157]

6.8 See also

- Administrative divisions of Nazi Germany
- Areas annexed by Nazi Germany
- Empire of Japan
- Fourth Reich
- Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
- Hitler’s plans for North America
- Hypothetical Axis victory in World War II
- Imperial Italy
- Italian Empire
- Kleindeutschland and Grossdeutschland

- Latin Bloc (proposed alliance)
- New Order (Nazism), Nazi concept for a post-World War II world order
- Pan movements
- Racial policy of Nazi Germany

6.9 Notes

- [1] This passage should in all likelihood be interpreted to mean “extending *up to* northern Italy”, not that it would also include this region. There is no convincing evidence that Hitler intended to include any Italian provinces in the German state before 1943, including South Tyrol.

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6.11 External links

- Map detailing the early political plans for the creation of the Greater Germanic Reich

Chapter 7

Lebensborn

Not to be confused with *Lebensreform*.

Lebensborn e.V. (literally: “Fount of Life”) was an SS-initiated, state-supported, registered association in Nazi Germany with the goal of raising the birth rate of “Aryan” children of persons classified as “racially pure and healthy” based on Nazi racial hygiene and health ideology. Lebensborn provided welfare to its mostly unmarried mothers, encouraged anonymous births by unmarried women at their maternity homes, and mediated adoption of these children by likewise “racially pure and healthy” parents, particularly SS members and their families. The Cross of Honour of the German Mother was given to the women who bore the most Aryan children. Abortion was illegal at this time.

Initially set up in Germany in 1935, *Lebensborn* expanded into several occupied European countries with Germanic populations during the Second World War. It included the selection of “racially worthy” orphans for adoption and care for children born from Aryan women who had been in relationships with SS members. It originally excluded children born from unions between common soldiers and foreign women, because there was no proof of racial purity on both sides. During the war, many children were kidnapped from their parents and judged by “Aryan” criteria for their suitability to be raised in Lebensborn homes, and fostering by German families.

At the Nuremberg Trials, much direct evidence was found of the kidnapping of children by Nazi Germany, not just in Poland but across Greater Germany during the period 1939-45.

7.1 Background

The *Lebensborn e. V.* (e.V. stands for *eingetragener Verein* or registered association), meaning “fount of life”, was founded on 12 December 1935,^[1] to counteract falling birth rates in Germany, and to promote Nazi eugenics.^[2] Located in Munich, the organization was partly an office within the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) responsible for certain family welfare programs, and partly a society for Nazi leaders.

On 13 September 1936, Heinrich Himmler wrote the following to members of the SS:

The organisation “Lebensborn e.V.” serves the SS leaders in the selection and adoption of qualified children. The organisation “Lebensborn e.V.” is under my personal direction, is part of the Race and Settlement Central Bureau of the SS, and has the following obligations:

1. Support racially, biologically and hereditarily valuable families with many children.
2. Placement and care of racially, biologically and hereditarily valuable pregnant women, who, after thorough examination of their and the progenitor’s families by the Race and Settlement Central Bureau of the SS, can be expected to produce equally valuable children.
3. Care for the children.
4. Care for the children’s mothers.

It is the honorable duty of all leaders of the central bureau to become members of the organisation “Lebensborn e.V.”. The application for admission must be filed prior to 23 September 1936.^[3]

In 1939, membership stood at 8,000, of which 3,500 were SS leaders.^[4] The *Lebensborn* office was part of *SS Rasse*



A Lebensborn birth house

und Siedlungshauptamt (SS Race and Settlement Main Office) until 1938, when it was transferred to *Hauptamt Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer-SS* (Personal Staff of the *Reichsführer-SS*), i.e. directly overseen by Himmler. Leaders of *Lebensborn e. V.* were *SS-Standartenführer* Max Sollmann and *SS-Oberführer* Dr. Gregor Ebner.



Christening of a Lebensborn child, c. 1935–1936

7.2 Implementation

Initially the programme served as a welfare institution for wives of SS officers; the organization ran facilities – primarily maternity homes – where women could give birth or get help with family matters. The programme also accepted unmarried women who were either pregnant or had already given birth and were in need of aid, provided that both the woman and the father of the child were classified as “racially valuable”. About 60% of the mothers were unmarried. The program allowed them to give birth secretly away from home without social stigma. In case the mothers wanted to give up the children, the program also had orphanages and an adoption service.^[5] When dealing with non-SS members, parents and children were usually examined by SS doctors before admission.

The first *Lebensborn* home (known as 'Heim Hochland') opened in 1936, in *Steinhöring*, a tiny village not far from Munich. The first home outside of Germany opened in Norway in 1941. Many of these facilities were established in confiscated houses and former nursing homes owned by Jews.^[2] Leaders of the League of German Girls were instructed to recruit young women with the potential to become good breeding partners for SS officers.^[6]

While *Lebensborn e. V.* established facilities in several occupied countries, its activities were concentrated around Germany, Norway and occupied northeastern Europe, mainly Poland. The main focus in occupied Norway was aiding children born to Norwegian women and fathered by German soldiers. In northeastern Europe the organisation, in addition to services provided to SS members, engaged in the transfer of children, mostly orphans, to families in Germany.

Lebensborn e. V. had or planned to have facilities in the following countries (some were merely field offices):

- Germany: 10
- Austria: 3
- Poland (General Government – the occupied Polish territory and annexed lands of Poland): 6 (8 if Stettin and Bad Polzin are included.)^[7]
- Norway: 9
- Denmark: 2
- France: 1 (February 1944 – August 1944) – in Lamorlaye
- Belgium: 1 (March 1943 – September 1944) – in Wégimont, in the municipality of Soumagne

- Netherlands: 1
- Luxembourg: 1

About 8,000 children were born in *Lebensborn* homes in Germany, and between 8,000 and 12,000 children in Norway.^[8] Elsewhere the total number of births was much lower.^[8] For more information about *Lebensborn* in Norway, see war children.

In Norway the *Lebensborn* organisation handled approximately 250 adoptions. In most of these cases the mothers had agreed to the adoption, but not all were informed that their children would be sent to Germany for adoption. The Norwegian government recovered all but 80 of these children after the war.

7.3 Germanisation

Main article: [Kidnapping of Polish children by Nazi Germany](#)

In 1939, the Nazis started to kidnap children from foreign countries – mainly from [Yugoslavia](#) and [Poland](#), but also



Kidnapping of Polish children during the Nazi-German resettlement operation in Zamość county.

including [Russia](#), [Ukraine](#), [Czechoslovakia](#), [Romania](#), [Estonia](#), [Latvia](#), and [Norway](#) – for the *Lebensborn* program. They started to do this because “It is our duty to take [the children] with us to remove them from their environment... either we win over any good blood that we can use for ourselves and give it a place in our people or we destroy this blood”, Himmler reportedly said.^[9]

The Nazis would take children from their parents, in full view of the parents. The kidnapped children were administered several tests and were categorised into three groups:

- those considered desirable to be included into the German population,
- those who were acceptable, and
- the unwanted.

The children classified as unwanted were taken to [concentration camps](#) to work or were killed. The children from the other groups, if between the ages of 2 and 6, were placed with families in the programme to be brought up by them in



Polish children in Nazi-German labour camp in Dzierżązna near Zgierz.

a kind of **foster child** status. Children of ages 6 to 12 were placed in German boarding schools. The schools assigned the children new German names and taught them to be proud to be part of Germany. They forced the children to forget their birth parents and erased any records of their ancestry. Those who resisted Germanisation were beaten and, if a child continued to rebel, he or she would be sent to a concentration camp.^[10]

In the final stages of the war, the files of all children kidnapped for the programme were destroyed. As a result, researchers have found it nearly impossible to learn how many children were taken. The Polish government has claimed that 10,000 children were kidnapped, and less than 15% were returned to their biological parents.^[11] Other estimates include numbers as high as 200,000, although according to Dirk Moses a more likely number is around 20,000.^[12]

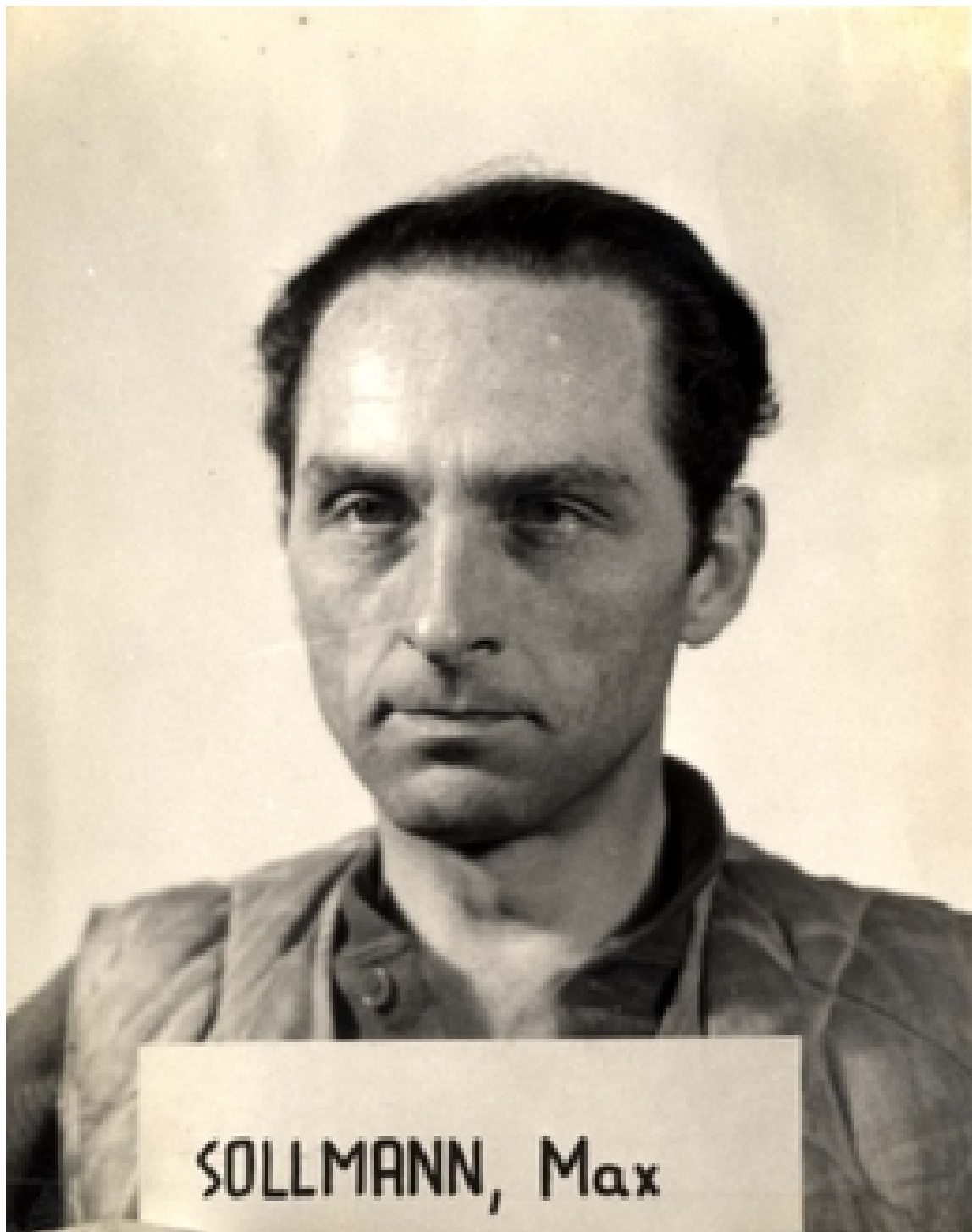
7.4 Post-war trial

After the war, the branch of the *Lebensborn* organisation operating in north-eastern Europe was accused of kidnapping children deemed racially valuable in order to resettle them with German families. However, of approximately 10,000 foreign-born children located after the war in the American-controlled area of Germany, in the trial of the leaders of the *Lebensborn* organisation (*United States of America v. Ulrich Greifelt, et al.*), the court found that 340 had been handled by *Lebensborn e. V.* The accused were acquitted on charges of kidnapping.

The court found ample evidence of an existing programme of the kidnapping or forced movement of children in north-eastern Europe, but concluded that these activities were carried out by individuals who were not members of *Lebensborn*. Exactly how many children were moved by *Lebensborn* or other organisations remains unknown due to the destruction of archives by SS members prior to fleeing the advancing Allied forces.

From the trial's transcript:^[13]

The prosecution has failed to prove with the requisite certainty the participation of *Lebensborn*, and the defendants connected therewith in the kidnapping programme conducted by the Nazis. While the evidence has disclosed that thousands upon thousands of children were unquestionably kidnapped by other agencies or organisations and brought into Germany, the evidence has further disclosed that only a small percentage of the total number ever found their way into *Lebensborn*. And of this number only in isolated instances did *Lebensborn* take children who had a living parent. The majority of those children in any way connected with *Lebensborn* were orphans of ethnic Germans. Upon the evidence submitted, the defendant Sollmann is found not guilty on counts one and two of the indictment.



Max Sollmann ready for trial at Nuremberg

7.5 Post-war

After Germany's surrender, the press reported on the unusually good weight and health of the "super babies". They spent time outdoors in sunlight and received two baths a day. Everything that came into contact with the babies was disinfected first. Nurses ensured that the children ate everything given to them.^[14] Until the last days of the war, the mothers and the children at maternity homes got the best treatment available, including food, although others in the area were starving. Once the war ended, local communities often took revenge on the women, beating them, cutting off their hair, and running them out of the community. Many *Lebensborn* children were born to unwed mothers. After the war, *Lebensborn* survivors suffered from ostracism.

Himmler's effort to secure a racially pure **Greater Germany** and sloppy journalism on the subject in the early years after the war led to false assumptions about the programme. The main misconception was that the programme involved coercive breeding. The first stories reporting that *Lebensborn* was a coercive breeding programme can be found in the German magazine *Revue*, which ran a series on the subject in the 1950s. The 1961 German film *Der Lebensborn* purported that young girls were forced to mate with Nazi men in their camps.

The programme did intend to promote the growth of Aryan populations, through encouraging relationships between German soldiers and Nordic women in occupied countries. Access to *Lebensborn* was restricted in accordance with the **Nordicist** eugenic and racial policies of Nazism, which could be referred to as supervised selective breeding. Recently discovered records and ongoing testimony of *Lebensborn* children – and some of their parents – shows that some SS men did sire children in Himmler's *Lebensborn* program.^[15] This was widely rumored within Germany during the period of the programme.^[16]

7.6 Self-help groups and aftermath

Help, recognition, and justice for *Lebensborn* survivors have been varied.

In Norway, children born to Norwegian mothers by Nazi fathers were allegedly often bullied, raped and abused after the war, and placed in mental institutions; their mothers became slave labourers in concentration camps. The Norwegian government attempted to deport *Lebensborn* to Germany, Brazil, and Australia but did not succeed. A group of survivors attempted to fight the Norwegian government into admitting complicity. In 2008, their case before the **European Court of Human Rights** was dismissed, but they were each offered a £8,000 token from the Norwegian government.^[17]

In November 2006, in the German town of Wernigerode, an open meeting took place among several *Lebensborn* children, with the intention of dispelling myths and encouraging those affected to investigate their origins.^{[18][19]}

Sweden took in several hundred *Lebensborn* children from Norway after the war. A famous survivor is **Anni-Frid Lyngstad**, a member of the music group **ABBA**. Her father was a sergeant in the *Wehrmacht*, and her mother was Norwegian; to escape persecution after the war, her mother took Anni-Frid to Sweden, where their personal history was not known.^[20]

Other countries that had *Lebensborn* clinics include France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland and Luxembourg.

General documents on *Lebensborn* activities are administered by **International Tracing Service** and by **German Federal Archives**.^[21] The association *Verein kriegskind.de* is among those that published search efforts (*Suchbitten*) to identify *Lebensborn* children.^[22]

7.7 In popular culture

- *Of Pure Blood*, 1986 directed by Joseph Sargent starring Lee Remick
- **Georg Maas** directed *Two Lives* (2012), a German/Norwegian drama film based on a then-unpublished novel, *Ice Ages* by German author and journalist **Hannelore Hippe**. It is inspired by the cases of *Lebensborn* children taken from Norway, raised in orphanages, and recruited by the **Stasi** in East Germany after the war to be returned to Norway as agents, claiming places in Norwegian families.^[23]
- *Malgré-elles* (2012) is French drama film by Denis Malleval about an Alsace woman who is entered into the *Lebensborn* program. There are no documented French women entered into *Lebensborn*.
- Roy Havelland's **Cold War** novel *The Lebensborn Boy* (2014), set in Denmark, Hamburg and East Berlin, deals with **Stasi** espionage and the shadow of the *Lebensborn* as they affect a Danish family trying to conceal involvement with the organisation. The story stretches from the Second World War to the **re-united** Berlin of 1990.
- In the second season of **Amazon's** *The Man in the High Castle* (2016), character Joe Blake finds out that he is a child of *Lebensborn*, born to an SS soldier and an unwed mother, the latter of whom fled with the infant Joe to the United States, shortly after his birth.
- **X Company** March 2015 (Season 1, Episode 5), the team investigate the mystery of a Nazi sponsored school of girls that is discovered to be a "birth house" in France.

7.8 See also

- European sexuality leading up to and during World War II
- Nazi eugenics
- Lidice
- War children
- RuSHA Trial
- Desaparecidos – Children of the *Desaparecidos* in Argentina were taken by the military junta in the Dirty War and placed with junta supporters for adoption and raising.
- Eugenics
- Breeding back

7.9 References

Notes

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- [4] Archived 29 March 2007 at the Wayback Machine.
- [5] Crossland, David (7 November 2006). "Nazi Program to Breed Master Race: Lebensborn Children Break Silence". *Der Spiegel*. Hamburg. Retrieved 15 August 2011.
- [6] "Lebensborn".
- [7] Bydgoszcz, Kraków, Helenówek pod Łodzią, Otwock, Smoszew koło Krotoszyna, Smoszewo; 8 if you include Stettin and Półczyn-Zdrój (which became a part of Poland only after the war)
- [8] Eva Simonsen: "Into the open – or hidden away? – The construction of war children as a social category in post-war Norway and Germany" In: NORDEUROPAforum (2006:2), pp. 25–49, <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/nordeuropaforum/2006-2/simonsen-eva-25/PDF/simonsen.pdf>
- [9] • "The Lebensborn Origination", Southern Illinois University
- [10] • "The Lebensborn", Jewish Virtual Library's description of the Lebensborn program
- [11] "The Lebensborn Orgization", Southern Illinois University
- [12] A. Dirk Moses (2004). *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. p. 255. ISBN 978-1-57181-410-4. Retrieved 2008-09-16.
- [13] *Trial of Ulrich Greifelt and Others*, United Nations War Crimes Commission. Part III
- [14] ""Super Babies": Illegitimate children of SS men are housed in a German chateau". *Life*. 15 August 1942. p. 37. Retrieved 12 September 2015.
- [15] [d/europe/article626101.ece](http://www.bbc.co.uk/1/health/2006/11/061106_eu_himmler.php) "Himmler was my godfather", *Times* (UK) Online, 6 November 2006
- [16] Richard Grunberger, *The 12-Year Reich*, pp. 246–7, ISBN 0-03-076435-1
- [17] Rob Sharp, "The chosen ones: The war children born to Nazi fathers in a sinister eugenics scheme speak out", *The Independent*, 20 January 2008. Retrieved 23 April 2015.

- [18] “Nazi 'master race' children meet”, BBC News, 4 November 2006
- [19] David Crossland, “Nazi Program to Breed Master Race: Lebensborn Children Break Silence”, *Spiegel*, 07 November 2006. Retrieved 23 April 2015.
- [20] Kate Connolly, “Torment of the Abba star with a Nazi father”, *The Guardian*, 29 June 2002. Retrieved 23 April 2015.
- [21] New “Findbuch” (register) to still existing general „Lebensborn“-documents its-arolsen.org, site looked at on 30 March 2017
- [22] “Search efforts (Suchbitten) for Lebensborn-children”, kriegskind.de
- [23] Ella Taylor, “A Legacy Of War, Hitting Home Decades Later In Norway”, NPR, 27 February 2014, accessed 10 July 2014

7.10 Further reading

7.10.1 England/USA

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- “Children of World War II: the Hidden Enemy Legacy.” Ed. Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen. New York: Berg Publishers, 2005.
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7.10.2 France

- Marc Hillel, *Au nom de la race*, Éditions Fayard, 1975. ISBN 2-253-01592-X.
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7.10.3 Germany

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7.10.4 Norway

- Kåre Olsen: „*Vater: Deutscher.*“ *Das Schicksal der norwegischen Lebensbornkinder und ihrer Mütter von 1940 bis heute*. Campus, Frankfurt 2002, ISBN 3-593-37002-6

7.11 External links

- [Nazi Program to Breed Master Race, Lebensborn Children Break Silence Spiegel Online International](#)
- [“The Lebensborn Organization” Southern Illinois University](#)
- [Trial of Ulrich Greifelt and others Law Reports of the Trials of War Criminals, United Nations War Crimes Commission, London 1949 \(copy at University of the West of England website\)](#)
- [“The Lebensborn” Jewish Virtual Library’s description of the *Lebensborn* programme](#)
- [“Himmler was my godfather” An online press article](#)
- [The Last Nazis: Children of the Master Race BBC documentary about the *Lebensborn* project](#)
- [Third Reich Poster Child Portrait of a *Lebensborn* child in EXBERLINER magazine](#)
- [National Archival Services of Norway](#)

Chapter 8

Master race

“Herrenvolk” redirects here. For other uses, see [Herrenvolk \(disambiguation\)](#).

“Superior race” and “inferior race” redirect here. For other concepts of racial supremacy, see [racial superiority](#).

For other uses, see [Master race \(disambiguation\)](#).

The **master race** (German: *die Herrenrasse*, ↪ *das Herrenvolk*) was a pseudo-scientific concept in Nazi ideology in



Arno Breker's 1939 neoclassical sculpture Die Partei (The Party), which flanked one of the entrances to the Albert Speer-designed Reich Chancellery in Berlin, that emphasizes Nordic racial characteristics.

which the Nordic or Aryan races, which were thought to predominate among Germans and other northern European peoples, were deemed the highest in an assumed racial hierarchy.

The Nazi official Alfred Rosenberg believed that the Nordic race was descended from Proto-Aryans who he believed had prehistorically dwelt on the North German Plain and who had ultimately originated from the lost continent of Atlantis.^[1] The Nazis declared that the Nordics (now referred to as the Germanic peoples), or Aryan as they sometimes called them, were superior to all other races. The Nazis believed they were entitled to expand territorially.^[2] This concept is known as Nordicism. The actual policy that was implemented by the Nazis resulted in the Aryan certificate, the one form of the official document that was required by the law for all citizens of the Reich was the “Lesser Aryan certificate” (Kleiner Ariernachweis) which could be obtained through an *Ahnenpass* which required the owner to trace

his or her lineage through baptism, birth certificates or certified proof thereof that all grandparents were of “Aryan descent”.

The Slavs (along with Gypsies and Jews) were defined as being racially inferior and non-Aryan *Untermenschen*, and were thus considered to be a danger to the “Aryan” or Germanic *Übermenschen* master race.^[3] According to the Nazi secret Hunger Plan and *Generalplan Ost*, the Slavic population was to be removed from Central Europe through expulsion, enslavement, starvation, and extermination,^[4] except for a small percentage who were deemed to be non-Slavic descendants of Germanic settlers, and thus suitable for Germanisation.^[5]

8.1 Historical background

The *Übermensch* (German) (English *Overman* or *Superman*) is a concept in the philosophy of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche—he posited the *Übermensch* as a goal for humanity to set for itself in his 1883 book *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (German: *Also Sprach Zarathustra*). However, Nietzsche never developed the concept on racial grounds. Instead, the *Übermensch* “seems to be the ideal aim of spiritual development more than a biological goal.”^[6] Nazism distorted the real meaning behind the concept to fit its ‘master race’ view.

By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was posited that the Indo-Europeans (then generally also referred to as Aryans) made up the highest branch of humanity because their civilization was the most technologically advanced. This reasoning simultaneously intertwined with Nordicism which proclaimed the “Nordic race” as the “purest” form of said Aryan race. Today, this view is regarded as scientific racism because it contradicts racial equality by positing that one race is superior to all other races.

8.1.1 Eugenics

Eugenics came to play a prominent role in this racial thought as a way to improve and maintain the purity of the Aryan master race. Eugenics was a concept adhered to by many thinkers in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s, such as Margaret Sanger,^{[7][8]} Marie Stopes, H. G. Wells, Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Madison Grant,^[9] Émile Zola, George Bernard Shaw, John Maynard Keynes, John Harvey Kellogg, Linus Pauling^[10] and Sidney Webb.^{[11][12]} Human “dog and pony show” type events (organized by advocates of eugenics), where men and women appeared on stage in swimsuits in eugenic competitions (only Nordic Aryans were allowed to enter) to be evaluated for their physical and mental qualities as marriage partners were common throughout Europe and North America in the 1920s. The Nazis took this concept to a further extreme by establishing a program to systematically genetically enhance the Nordic Aryans themselves through a program of Nazi eugenics, based on the eugenics laws of the United States state of California,^[13] to create a super race.^[2]

8.1.2 Hierarchy

The modern concept of the *master race* in general derives from 19th-century racial theory, which posited a hierarchy of races based on darkness of skin color. This 19th-century concept was largely initially developed by Count Joseph Arthur De Gobineau. Gobineau’s basic concept, as further refined and developed in Nazism, places the black Indigenous Australians and Equatorial Africans at the bottom of the hierarchy, while the white Northern and Western Europeans (consisting of Germans, Swedes, Icelanders, Norwegians, Danes, British, Irish, Dutch, Belgian and Northern French) were at the top; olive skinned white Southern Europeans (consisting of the Southern French, Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Romanians, and Greeks, i.e., those of what is called the Mediterranean race, which was regarded as another sub-race of the Caucasian race) in the upper middle ranks; and those of the Semitic race and Hamitic race (supposed sub-races of the Caucasian race) in the middle ranks (it was because the Jews, being Semites, were clever that they were so dangerous—they had their own plan for Jewish world domination, a conspiracy that had to be opposed by all thoughtful Aryans, declared the Nazis).^[2] Slavs such as Poles and Russians were not considered Aryans;^[3] and those of the yellow Mongoloid race (including its offshoots the Malayan race, the American Indian race) and mixed-race people such as Eurasians, the bronze Mestizos, Mulattos, Afro-Asians, and Zambos in the lower middle ranks. However, the Japanese were considered honorary Aryans.^[14]

In attempting to scientifically prove the racial inferiority of Slavs, German (and Austrian) racial scientists were forced to gloss over their findings which consistently found that Early Slavs were dolicocephalic and fair haired, i.e., “Nordic”, while the South Slavic “Dinaric” sub-race was often viewed favourable.^[15] Nazis used the term “Slavic race”, and considered Slavs to be non-Aryan^{[16][17][18][19][20]} The concept of a Slavic “Untermensch” went alongside the political



German warning in Nazi-occupied Poland 1939 – "No entrance for Poles!"

goals, and was particularly aimed at Poles and Russians. Germany's ultimate goal was to realize their *Drang nach Osten* to conquer in Europe, Ukraine's "chernozem" (black earth) soil being a particularly desirable zone for colonization by the "Herrenvolk" (master race).

In relation to the Nazis racial purity, author and historian Lucy Dawidowicz wrote:

In the hierarchy of Nazi racism, the "Aryans" were the superior race, destined to rule the world after the destruction of their racial arch-foe, the Jews. The lesser races over whom the Germans would rule included the Slavs — Poles, Russians, Ukrainians. ... Hitler's racial policy with regard to the Slavs, to the extent that it was formulated, was "depopulation." The Slavs were to be prevented from procreating, except to provide the necessary continuing supply of slave laborers."^[21]

8.2 'Master race' in the United States

In the United States, the concept of 'master race' arose within the context of master-slave race relations in the slavery-based society of historical America — particularly in the South in the mid-19th century. It was based upon both the experience of slavery and the pseudo-scientific justifications for racial slavery, but also on the relations between whites in the South and North, particularly during the American Civil War.

Benjamin W. Leigh, representing Virginia in the United States Senate, said in a speech of January 19, 1836:

There has been in Virginia as earnest a desire to abolish slavery as exists any where at this day. It commenced with the Revolution, and many of our ablest and most influential men were active in recommending it, and in devising plans for the accomplishment of it. The Legislature encouraged and facilitated emancipation by the owners, and many slaves were so emancipated. The leaning of the courts of justice was always *in favorem libertatis*. This disposition continued until the impracticability of effecting a general emancipation, without incalculable mischief to the master race, and danger of utter destruction to the other, and the evils consequent on partial emancipations, became too obvious to the Legislature, and to the great majority of the people, to be longer disregarded.^[22]

The *Oxford English Dictionary* records that William J. Grayson used the phrase “master race” in his poem *The Hireling and the Slave* (1855):

For these great ends hath Heaven’s supreme command
Brought the black savage from his native land,
Trains for each purpose his barbarian mind,
By slavery tamed, enlightened, and refined;
Instructs him, from a master-race, to draw
Wise modes of polity and forms of law,
Imbues his soul with faith, his heart with love,
Shapes all his life by dictates from above

where the phrase denotes the relation between the white masters and negro slaves. By 1860 Virginian author George Fitzhugh was using the “challenging phrase “master race”, which soon came to mean considerably more than the ordinary master-slave relationship”.^[23] Fitzhugh, along with a number of southern writers, used the term to differentiate Southerners from Northerners, based on the dichotomy that Southerners were supposedly descendents of Normans / Cavaliers whereas Northerners were descendents of Anglo-Saxons / Puritans.^[24]

In 1861, the Southern press bragged that Northern soldiers would “encounter a master race” and knowledge of this fact would cause Northern soldiers’ “knees to tremble”.^[25] The *Richmond Whig* in 1862 proclaimed that “the master race of this continent is found in the southern states”,^[26] and in 1863 the *Richmond Examiner* stated that “there are slave races born to serve, master races born to govern”^[27]

In the works of John H. Van Evrie, a Northern supporter of the Confederacy, the term was interchangeable with white supremacy, notably in *White Supremacy and Negro Subordination, Or, Negroes a Subordinate Race and (so-called) slavery its normal condition* (1861). In *Subgeneation: the theory of the normal relations of the races; an answer to miscegenation* (1864) Van Evrie created the words “subgen” to describe what he considered to be the “inferior races” and “subgeneation” to describe the ‘normal’ relation of such inferior races to whites, something which he considered to be the “very corner-stone of democracy”;^[28] but these words never entered the dictionary.

The racial term *Untermensch* originates from the title of Klansman Lothrop Stoddard's 1922 book *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under-man*.^[29] It was later adopted by the Nazis from that book's German version *Der Kulturumsturz: Die Drohung des Untermenschen* (1925).^[30] An advocate of the U.S. immigration laws that favored Northern Europeans, Stoddard wrote primarily on the alleged dangers posed by "colored" peoples to white civilization, with his most famous book *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* in 1920. Alfred Rosenberg was the leading Nazi who attributed the concept of the East-European “under man” to Stoddard. As the Nazi Party's chief racial theorist, Rosenberg oversaw the construction of a human racial “ladder” that justified Hitler's racial and ethnic policies. Referring to Russian communists, Rosenberg wrote in his *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1930) that “this is the kind of human being that Lothrop Stoddard has called the 'under man.'” [“...den Lothrop Stoddard als 'Untermenschen' bezeichnete.”]^[31]

8.3 Nordicism

Main article: Nordic race

The origins of the Nazi version of the theory of the master race were in the 19th-century racial theories of Count Joseph Arthur De Gobineau, who argued that cultures degenerated when distinct races mixed. It was believed at this time that the peoples of Southern Europe were racially mixed with non-European Moors from across the Mediterranean Sea, while the peoples of Northern Europe and Western Europe remained pure. Proponents of the Nordic theory further argued that Nordic peoples had developed an innate toughness and determination due to the harsh, challenging climate in which they evolved.

The philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer was one of the earliest proponents of a theory presenting a hierarchical racial model of history, attributing civilisational primacy to the “white races” who gained their sensitivity and intelligence by refinement in the rigorous north.

The highest civilisation and culture, apart from the Ancient Indians and Egyptians, are found exclusively among the white races; and even with many dark peoples, the ruling caste or race is fairer in

colour than the rest and has, therefore, evidently immigrated, for example, the Brahmins, the Incas, and the rulers of the South Sea Islands. All this is because necessity is the mother of invention because those tribes that emigrated early to the north and there gradually became white, had to develop all their intellectual powers and invent and perfect all the arts in their struggle with need, want and misery, which in their many forms were brought about by the climate. This they had to do in order to make up for the parsimony of nature and out of it all came their high civilisation.^[32]

Despite this, he was adamantly against differing treatment of races, was fervently anti-slavery, and supported the abolitionist movement in the United States. He describes the treatment of "[our] innocent black brothers whom force and injustice have delivered into [the slave-master's] devilish clutches" as "belonging to the blackest pages of mankind's criminal record".^[33]

Hans Frank, Hitler's personal lawyer, stated that Hitler carried a copy of Schopenhauer's book *The World as Will and Representation* with him wherever he went throughout World War I.^[34]

The postulated superiority of these people was said to make them born leaders, or a "master race".^[35] Other authors included Guido von List, his associate Lanz von Liebenfels, and the British-born German racial theorist Houston Stewart Chamberlain, all of whom felt that the white race in general and Germanic peoples in particular were superior to others, and that given the purification of both the white race and the German people from the other races which were "polluting" them, a new millenarian age of Aryan god-men would arrive.^[36]

Nazi policy stressed the superiority of the Germanic *Übermenschen* (superhuman) Nordic race, a sub-race of the white Caucasian race European population defined by anthropometric models of racial difference. The Nordic race was said to comprise only the Germanic peoples: Scandinavians and the rest of the Nordic countries (Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Icelanders, and Faroese), ethnic Germans (including Austrians, Banat Swabians, as well as Sudeten, Baltic and Volga Germans), Alemannic Swiss, Liechtensteiners, Luxembourgers, the Dutch, Flemings, Afrikaners, Frisians and the English.

The Nazi racial theorist Hans F. K. Günther first defined "Nordic thought" in his programmatic book *Der Nordische Gedanke unter den Deutschen*. The fact that Germans were not purely Nordic was acknowledged by Günther in his book *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1922) ("Racial Science of the German People"), in which he described the German people as being made up of all five of his European racial categories: Nordic, Mediterranean, Dinaric, Alpine, and East Baltic.^[37] Most official Nazi comments on the Nordic race were based on Günther's works, and Alfred Rosenberg presented Günther with a medal for his work in anthropology.

Although the physical ideal of these racial theorists was typically the tall, fair-haired and light-eyed Nordic individual, such theorists accepted the fact that a considerable variety of hair and eye colour existed within the racial categories they recognised. For example, Adolf Hitler and many Nazi officials had dark hair and were still considered members of the Aryan race under Nazi racial doctrine, because the determination of an individual's racial type depended on a preponderance of many characteristics in an individual rather than on just one defining feature.^[38]

Hitler and Himmler planned to use the SS as the basis for the racial "regeneration" of Europe following the final victory of Nazism. The SS was to be a racial elite chosen on the basis of "pure" Nordic qualities.^{[39][40][41]}

Giuseppe Sergi (1841–1936) was an Italian anthropologist of the early twentieth century, best known for his opposition to Nordicism in his books on the racial identity of ancient Mediterranean peoples. His concept of the Mediterranean race became important to the modelling of racial difference in the early twentieth century.

8.4 Aryanism and Nazism

Main articles: Aryan race, Nazism and race, and Racial policy of Nazi Germany

See also: Aryanization (Nazism) and The Myth of the Twentieth Century

The term Aryan derives from the Sanskrit word (*ārya*), which derived from *arya*, the original Indo-Iranian autonym. Also, the word *Iran* is the Persian word for land/place of the Aryan^[42] (see also Iranian peoples).

Following the ideas of Gobineau and others, the Nazi theorist Alfred Rosenberg determined that these people, who, he claimed, were originally from Atlantis, were a dynamic warrior people who dwelt in northern climates on the North German Plain in prehistoric times, from which they migrated southeast by riding their chariots, eventually reaching Ukraine, Iran, and then India. They were supposed to be the ancestors of the ancient Germanic tribes, who shared their warrior values. Rosenberg claimed that Christianity was an alien Semitic slave-morality which was

inappropriate for the warrior Aryan master race and he thus supported a melange of aspects of Hindu Vedic and Zoroastrian teachings (both of these religions having been organised by Aryans), along with pre-Christian European Odinic paganism, which he also considered distinctively Aryan in character.^[43]

In Nazi Germany, the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 forbade sexual relations and marriage between an “Aryan” and a “non-Aryan” in order to maintain the purity of the Aryan race. Such relations became a punishable crime known as *Rassenschande* or “racial shame”.^[44] The League of German Girls was particularly regarded as instructing girls to avoid *Rassenschande*, which was treated with particular importance for young females.^[45] Aryans found guilty of this crime could face incarceration in a concentration camp, while non-Aryans could face the death penalty.^[46] The Nazis recognized the Germanic people as the master race, and several policies were implemented in order to improve and maintain the Germanic-Nordic *ubermenschen* Aryan “master race”, including the practice of *eugenics*. In order to eliminate “defective” citizens, the T-4 Euthanasia Program was administered by Karl Brandt in order to rid the country of the intellectually disabled or those born with genetic deficiencies, as well as those deemed racially inferior. Additionally, a programme of compulsory sterilisation was undertaken which resulted in forced operations being performed on hundreds of thousands of individuals. Many of these policies are generally seen as being related to what eventually became known as the Holocaust.^[5]

The Nazis also undertook measures to increase the number of Nordics in Germany. The *Lebensborn* program was only open to German women who fit the Nordic profile. During the Nazi occupation of Poland, the Nazis took young Nordic-looking Polish children who were classified as being descended from ethnic German settlers in order to determine whether or not they were “racially valuable”. If that were the case, the young children were taken back to these *Lebensborn* houses so they could be raised as Germans.^[47]

In Nazi Germany, there existed an official document which certified that its owner was Aryan, the so-called *Aryan certificate* that could also be obtained by citizens of other countries. It states in the section *Racial Tenet (Rassegrundsatz)*:

"In line with national socialist thinking which does full justice to all other peoples, there is never the expression of superior or inferior, but alien racial admixtures."^[48]

For the *Greater Aryan certificate* people had to prove that reaching back to January 1, 1800 "none of their paternal nor their maternal ancestors had Jewish or colored blood"^[49] (SS officers had to prove this reaching back to 1750).

8.5 Mediterranean race

Main article: [Mediterranean race](#)

See also: [Culture of Italy](#), [Culture of Greece](#), [Culture of Portugal](#), [Culture of Spain](#), and [Mediterraneanism](#)

The fact that the Mediterranean race is responsible for the most important of ancient western civilisations was a problem for the promoters of Nordic superiority. According to Giuseppe Sergi, the Mediterranean race was the “greatest race of the world” and was singularly responsible for the most accomplished civilisations of ancient times, including those of Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Phoenicia, Carthage, and Rome. The Mediterranean race was also a major influence to the outside world in the modern era: Portugal established the first global empire in history, during the 16th century, followed contemporarily by Spain, setting both nations in the highest dominion of political and economics powers in Europe.

C. G. Seligman also stated that “it must, I think, be recognised that the Mediterranean race has actually more achievements to its credit than any other race, since it is responsible for by far the greater part of Mediterranean civilisation, certainly before 1000 BC (and probably much later), and so shaped not only the Aegean cultures, but those of Western as well as the greater part of Eastern Mediterranean lands, while the culture of their near relatives, the Hamitic pre-dynastic Egyptians, formed the basis of that of Egypt.”^[50]

The Nazis explained this by pointing out that the original Latins and Greeks were Indo-European Nordic tribes that had migrated into Italy and Greece, respectively. The Nazis also claimed that the Spanish and Portuguese empires were examples of Nordic power since, at the time, their governments were run by the descendants of the Germanic Visigoths that had invaded earlier. However, they did admit that the masses during these four civilizations were Mediterranean. And Germans of all European races were classified as Aryan.^[43]

8.6 Master race in fiction

Aryan master race ideology was common throughout the educated and literate strata of the Western world until after World War II. Such theories were commonplace in early-20th century fantasy literature.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the original *Buck Rogers* stories and newspaper cartoons, Buck Rogers, in his adventures in the 25th century that take place on Earth, fights for *Aryan-Americans* from the liberated zone around Niagara, New York, against the *Red Mongol Empire*, a Chinese empire of the future which rules most of North America.^[51]

In the 1930s, both educational and storybooks for children in Germany taught their readers about the master race. In the Sun Koh science fiction series where Koh says things like “My forefathers were Aryan”. In a story about Atlantis, Koh says, “If our Atlantis once again rises out of the sea, then we will get from there the blond, steel-hard men with the pure blood and will create with them the master race, which will finally rule the earth.”^[52] The German writer Michael Ende, who was born in 1929 and grew up reading such books, wrote his classic novel *Jim Button and Luke the Engine Driver* in the 1950s, as a way of opposing the Nazi propaganda he was taught. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* writer Julia Voss wrote a book^[note 1] on Jim Button, uncovering the Ende’s many references to Nazi symbols.^[53] Voss shows how Ende upends the Nazi belief that Atlantis was the original home of the Aryan race by creating his own submerged city and making it rise, but not to restore Aryan master-race rule over the earth, rather it becomes a multi-racial paradise with Jim Button, who is black, as its king.^[52]

In the 1948 film *Rope* by Alfred Hitchcock, one of the central characters, Brandon Shaw, is a firm believer in the master race ideology.

In *Doctor Who*, the Doctor’s frequent enemies, the Daleks, consider themselves a master race who must purge the universe of all others; Terry Nation explicitly modeled them on the Nazis.^[54] In the 2009 special *The End of Time*, when the Master transforms the entire human race into copies of himself, he claims that there is no human race, but only “the Master race”.

In the *Harry Potter* series, while the parallels were not originally intentional, there is much similarity between Voldemort’s Pureblood ideology and the Master Race ideology of the Nazis, with wizards being “pure” and anyone with Muggle (non-wizard) blood being considered “half-blood” or “mudblood”, a word treated the same way a racial slur would be treated in the real world (Neo-Nazis call non-white people *mud people*).^[55]

8.7 Footnotes

[1] Voss’ book was written as a doctoral dissertation.

8.8 See also

- Model minority

8.9 References

[1] Rosenberg, Alfred, “The Myth of the 20th Century”. The term “Atlantis” is mentioned two times in the whole book, the term “Atlantis-hypothesis” is mentioned just once. Rosenberg (page 24): “It seems to be not completely impossible, that at parts where today the waves of the Atlantic ocean murmur and icebergs move along, once a blossoming land towered in the water, on which a creative race founded a great culture and sent its children as seafarers and warriors into the world; but if this Atlantis-hypothesis proves untenable, we still have to presume a prehistoric Nordic cultural center.” Rosenberg (page 26): “The ridiculed hypothesis about a Nordic creative center, which we can call Atlantis – without meaning a sunken island – from where once waves of warriors migrated to all directions as first witnesses of Nordic longing for distant lands to conquer and create, today becomes probable.” Original: Es erscheint als nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, dass an Stellen, über die heute die Wellen des Atlantischen Ozeans rauschen und riesige Eisgebirge herziehen, einst ein blühendes Festland aus den Fluten ragte, auf dem eine schöpferische Rasse große, weitausgreifende Kultur erzeugte und ihre Kinder als Seefahrer und Krieger hinaussandte in die Welt; aber selbst wenn sich diese Atlantishypothese als nicht haltbar erweisen sollte, wird ein nordisches vorgeschichtliches Kulturzentrum angenommen werden müssen. ... Und deshalb wird die alte verlachte Hypothese heute Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass von einem nordischen Mittelpunkt der Schöpfung, nennen wir ihn, ohne uns auf die Annahme eines versunkenen atlantischen Erdteils festzulegen, die Atlantis, einst Kriegerschwärme strahlenförmig ausgewandert sind als erste Zeugen des immer wieder sich erneut verkörpernden nordischen Fernwehs, um zu erobern, zu gestalten.”

- [2] Hitler, Adolf *Mein Kampf* 1925
- [3] Longerich 2010, p. 241.
- [4] Snyder 2010, pp. 162–163, 416.
- [5] Janusz Gumkowski and Kazimierz Leszczynski. “Hitler’s Plans for Eastern Europe”. Warsaw, Poland: Polonia Publishing House. pp. 7–33, 164–178. Archived from the original on 6 November 2011.
- [6] Solomon, Robert C.; Higgins, Kathleen M. (2000). *What Nietzsche Really Said*. Schocken Books, a division of Random House, Inc. p. 47. ISBN 0-8052-4157-4.
- [7] Margaret Sanger, quoted in Katz, Esther; Engelman, Peter (2002). *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press. p. 319. ISBN 978-0-252-02737-6. Our...campaign for Birth Control is not merely of eugenic value, but is practically identical in ideal with the final aims of Eugenics
- [8] Franks, Angela (2005). *Margaret Sanger’s eugenic legacy*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. p. 30. ISBN 978-0-7864-2011-7. ...her commitment to eugenics was constant...until her death
- [9] Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race*, Scribner’s Sons, 1922.
- [10] Everett Mendelsohn, Ph.D. Pauling’s Eugenics, *The Eugenic Temptation*, Harvard Magazine, Mar–April 2000
- [11] Gordon, Linda (2002). *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*. University of Illinois Press. p. 196. ISBN 0-252-02764-7.
- [12] Keynes, John Maynard (1946). “Opening remarks: The Galton Lecture”. *The Eugenics Review*. **38** (1): 39–40.
- [13] Black, Edwin (November 9, 2003). “Eugenics and the Nazis – the California connection”. *San Francisco Chronicle*.
- [14] Snyder (1976). *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*, p. 170.
- [15] Wingfield, Nancy Meriwether (2003). *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*. New York: Berghahn Books. p. 203. ISBN 978-1-57181-385-5.
- [16] Mark Mazower (7 March 2013). *Hitler’s Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*. Penguin Books Limited. ISBN 978-0-14-191750-4.
- [17] Fischel, Jack R. (2010). *Historical Dictionary of the Holocaust*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press. p. 175. ISBN 978-0-8108-7485-5. The policy of Lebensraum was also the product of Nazi racial ideology, which held that the Slavic peoples of the east were inferior to the Aryan race.
- [18] Stephenson, Jill (2006). *Hitler’s Home Front: Wurttemberg Under the Nazis*. London; New York: Hambledon Continuum. p. 135. ISBN 978-1-85285-442-3. Other non-‘Aryans’ included Slavs, Blacks and Roma.
- [19] Levine, Alan J. (1 January 1996). *Race Relations Within Western Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. p. 98. ISBN 978-0-275-95037-8. Preposterously, Central European Aryan theorists, and later the Nazis, would insist that the Slavic-speaking peoples were not really Aryans
- [20] Timm, Annette F. (2010). *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 118. ISBN 978-0-521-19539-3. The Nazis’ singleminded desire to “purify” the German race through the elimination of non-Aryans (particularly Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs)
- [21] Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, p.10 :
- [22] Gales & Seaton’s Register, 1836, p191
- [23] Wish, Harvey *George Fitzhugh: propagandist of the Old South* Louisiana State University Press (1943) p270
- [24] see Watson jr, Ritchie Devon *Normans and Saxons: Southern Race Mythology and the Intellectual History of the American Civil War* Louisiana State University Press (2008)
- [25] quoted in Grant and Lee: victorious American and vanquished Virginian Praeger (2008) p15
- [26] quoted in Conkling, Henry *An Inside View of the Rebellion: An American Citizen’s Textbook* (1864) p7
- [27] quoted in Senate documents, otherwise publ. as Public documents and Executive documents: 14th Congress, 1st session-48th congress, 2nd session and special session (1869) p670
- [28] *Subgeneation* p42

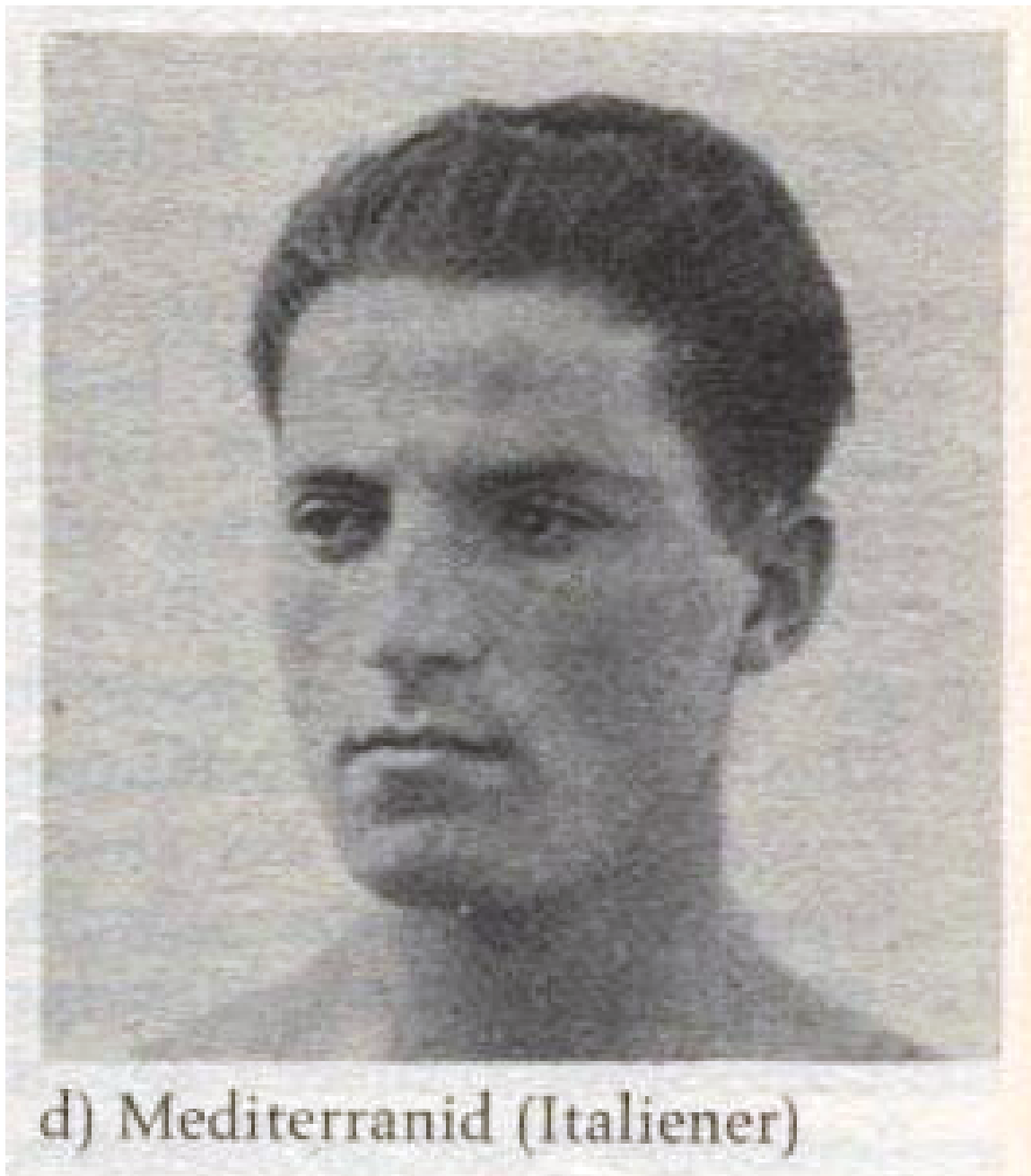
- [29] Stoddard, Lothrop (1922). *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- [30] Losurdo, Domenico (2004). Translated by Marella & Jon Morris. "Toward a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism" (PDF, 0.2 MB). *Historical Materialism*. Brill. 12 (2): 25–55, here p. 50. ISSN 1465-4466. doi:10.1163/1569206041551663.
- [31] Rosenberg, Alfred (1930). *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelischgeistigen Gestaltungskämpfe unserer Zeit* [*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*] (in German). Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag. p. 214.
- [32] Arthur Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena*, Volume II, Section 92
- [33] *Parerga and Paralipomena*, "On Ethics," Sec. 5
- [34] "Hitler Myths".
- [35] Yenne 2010, p. 88.
- [36] Yenne 2010, pp. 22–25, 88.
- [37] Anne Maxwell. *Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics, 1870–1940*. Eastbourne, England: UK; Portland, Oregon, USA: SUSSEX ACADEMIC PRESS, 2008, 2010. P. 150.
- [38] "The range of blond hair color in pure Nordic peoples runs from flaxen and red to shades of chestnut and brown... It must be clearly understood that blondness of hair and of eye is not a final test of Nordic race. The Nordics include all the blonds, and also those of darker hair or eye when possessed of a preponderance of other Nordic characters. In this sense the word "blond" means those lighter shades of hair or eye color in contrast to the very dark or black shades which are termed brunet. The meaning of "blond" as now used is therefore not limited to the lighter or flaxen shades as in colloquial speech. In England among Nordic populations there are large numbers of individuals with hazel brown eyes joined with the light brown or chestnut hair which is the typical hair shade of the English and Americans. This combination is also common in Holland and Westphalia and is frequently associated with a very fair skin. These men are all of "blond" aspect and constitution and consequently are to be classed as members of the Nordic race." Quoted in Grant, 1922, p. 26.
- [39] Hale, Christopher (2003). *Himmler's Crusade*. Bantam Press. pp. 74–87. ISBN 0-593-04952-7.
- [40] Russell, Stuart (1999). *Heinrich Himmler's Camelot*. Kressman-Backmayer.
- [41] Geoffrey G. Field, "Nordic Racism", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, p. 523
- [42] Wiesehofer, Joseph *Ancient Persia* New York:1996 I.B. Tauris
- [43] Rosenberg, Alfred *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1930 ("The Myth of the 20th Century")
- [44] Michael Burleigh (7 November 1991). *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945*. Cambridge University Press. p. 49. ISBN 978-0-521-39802-2.
- [45] Bytwerk, Randall. "The Jewish Question in Education".
- [46] Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*, p 125, ISBN 0-691-04649-2
- [47] Joseph W. Bendersky (11 July 2013). *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. p. 180. ISBN 978-1-4422-2270-0.
- [48] German: "Dem Denken des Nationalsozialismus entsprechend, jedem anderen Volke volle Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen, ist dabei niemals von höher- oder minderwertigen, sondern stets nur von fremden Rasseneinschlägen die Rede."
- [49] Quotation in German: "wer unter seinen Vorfahren väterlicherseits oder mütterlicherseits kein jüdisches oder farbiges Blut hat"; in: Isabel Heinemann. "Rasse Siedlung, deutsches Blut", Wallstein Verlag, 1999, ISBN 3-89244-623-7, p. 54
- [50] *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 54. (January – June , 1924), p. 30.
- [51] *The Collected Works of Buck Rogers in the 25th Century* 1969 Chelsea House—Introduction by Ray Bradbury—Reprints of the original Buck Rogers comic strips
- [52] Julia Voss, "Jim Knopf rettet die Evolutionstheorie" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (December 16, 2008). Retrieved July 31, 2011 (German)
- [53] Book review of *Darwins Jim Knopf* by Julia Voss Kultiversum.de "Im Zickzack durch Lummerland" (2009). Retrieved August 4, 2011 (German)
- [54] <http://nzdwfc.tetrap.com/archive/tsv51/terrystation.html> | Terry Nation – Writing For The Screen, By Paul Scoones
- [55] Johnston, Ian. "Author 'chilled' to learn Harry's half-blood status has Nazi parallels". Retrieved June 30, 2011.

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Werner Goldberg, who was blond and blue-eyed, was used in Nazi recruitment posters as "The Ideal German Soldier."



Italian man of Mediterranean type, from the Fischer Lexikon (1959)

Chapter 9

The Myth of the Twentieth Century

The Myth of the Twentieth Century (German: *Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*) is a 1930 book by Alfred Rosenberg, one of the principal ideologues of the Nazi Party and editor of the Nazi paper *Völkischer Beobachter*. The titular “myth” (in the special Sorelian sense) is “the myth of blood, which under the sign of the swastika unchains the racial world-revolution. It is the awakening of the race soul, which after long sleep victoriously ends the race chaos.”^[1]

The book has been described as “one of the two great unread bestsellers of the Third Reich” (the other being *Mein Kampf*).^[2] In private Adolf Hitler said: “I must insist that Rosenberg’s *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* is not to be regarded as an expression of the official doctrine of the party.”^[3] Hitler objected to Rosenberg’s paganism.^[4]

Hitler awarded the first State Prize for Art and Science to the author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. The official document accompanying the prize “expressly praises Rosenberg as a ‘person who has, in a scientific and penetrating manner, laid the firm foundation for an understanding of the ideological bases of National Socialism.’”^[5]

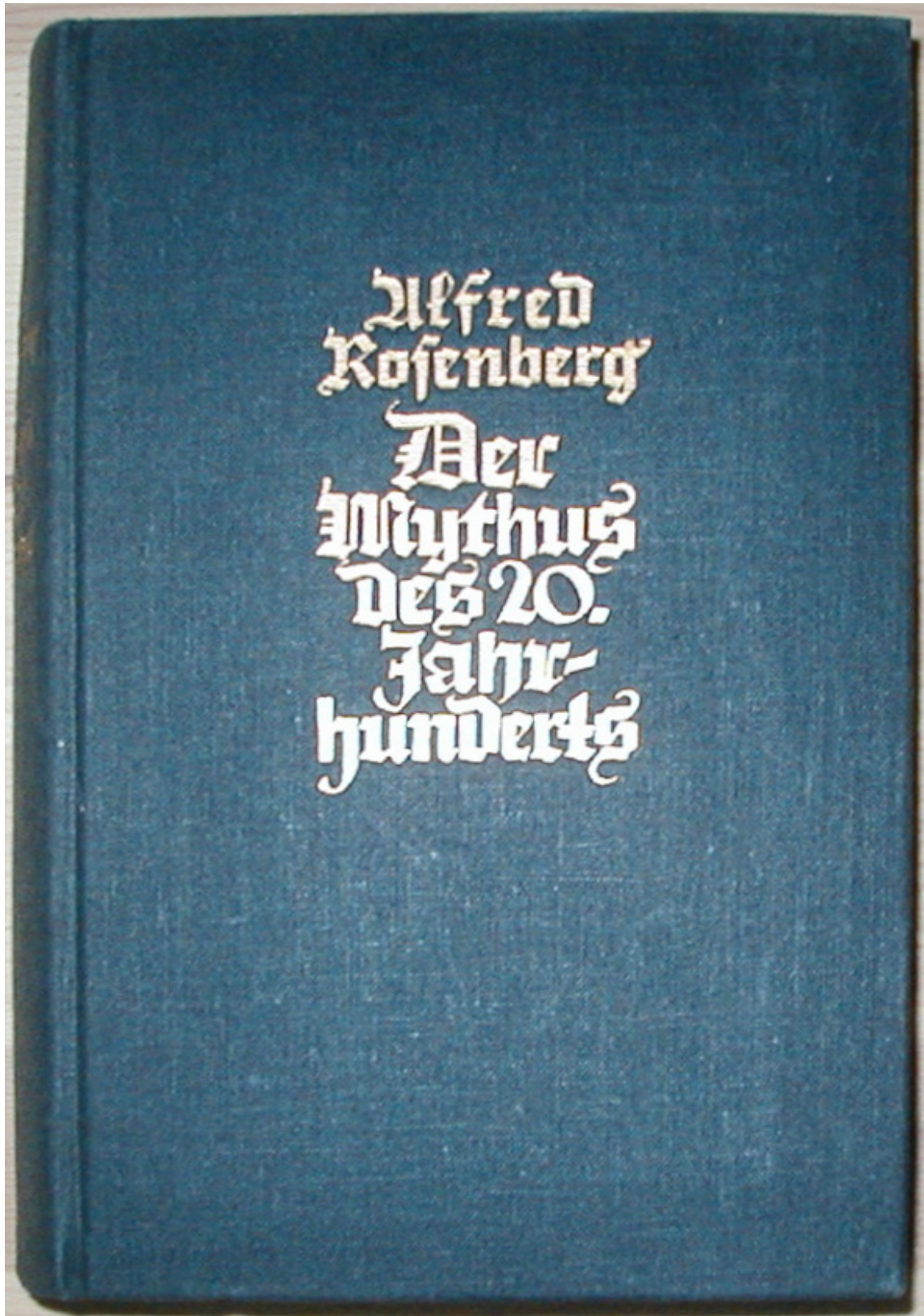
9.1 Rosenberg’s influences

Rosenberg was inspired by the racist theories of Arthur de Gobineau, in his 1853–1855 book *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*,^[6] and by Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Rosenberg’s *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* was conceived as a sequel to Chamberlain’s 1899 book *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*.^[7] Rosenberg believed that God created mankind as separate, differentiated races in a cascading hierarchy of nobility of virtue, not as separate individuals or as entities with “blank slate” natures. Rosenberg harshly rejected the idea of a “global” mankind of homogeneity of nature as counter-factual, and asserted each biological race possesses a discrete, unique soul, claiming the Caucasoid Aryan race, with Germanic Nordics supposedly composing its vanguard elite, as qualitatively superior, in a vaguely “ontological” way, in comparison to all other ethnic and racial groupings: the Germanic Nordic Aryan as Platonic ideal of humankind.

Other influences included the anti-modernist, “revolutionary” ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche, Richard Wagner’s Holy Grail romanticism inspired by the neo-Buddhist thesis of Arthur Schopenhauer, Haeckelian mystical vitalism, the medieval German philosopher Meister Eckhart and the heirs of his mysticism and Nordicism Aryanism in general.

9.2 Outline of contents of the book

Rosenberg’s racial interpretation of history concentrates on the negative influence of the Jewish race in contrast to the Aryan race. He equates the latter with the Nordic peoples of northern Europe and also includes the Berbers from North Africa and the upper classes of Ancient Egypt.^[8] According to Rosenberg, modern culture has been corrupted by Semitic influences (cf. anti-Semitism), which have produced degenerate modern art, along with moral and social degeneration. In contrast, Aryan culture is defined by innate moral sensibility and an energetic will to power. Rosenberg believed that the higher races must rule over the lower and not interbreed with them, because cross-breeding destroys the divine combination of physical heredity and spirit. He uses an organic metaphor of the race and the State and argues that the Nazis must purify the race soul by eliminating non-Aryan elements in much the same ruthless and uncompromising way in which a surgeon would cut a cancer from a diseased body.



Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts. 1939 edition

In Rosenberg's view of world history, migrating Aryans founded various ancient civilizations which later declined and fell due to inter-marriage with lesser races. These civilizations included the Indo-Aryan civilization, ancient Persia, Greece, and Rome. He saw the ancient Germanic invasions of the Roman empire as "saving" its civilization, which

had been corrupted both by race mixing and by “Judaized-cosmopolitan” Christianity. Furthermore, he noted that the persecutions of Protestants in France and other areas represented the wiping out of the last remnants of the Aryan element in those areas, a process completed by the French revolution. In contemporary Europe, he saw the northern areas that embraced Protestantism as closest to the Aryan racial and spiritual ideal.

Following H. S. Chamberlain and other *völkisch* theorists, he believed that Jesus was an Aryan (specifically an Amorite or Hurrian Hittite) and that original Christianity was an “Aryan” (Iranian) religion, but had been corrupted by the followers of Paul of Tarsus. The “Mythus” is very anti-Catholic, seeing the Church’s cosmopolitanism and “Judaized” version of Christianity as one of the factors in Germany’s spiritual bondage. Rosenberg particularly emphasizes the anti-Judaic teachings of the heresies Marcionism and “Aryo-Persian” Manicheanism as more representative of the true, “anti-Judaic” Jesus Christ and more suited to the Nordic world-view. Rosenberg saw Martin Luther and the Reformation as an important step forward toward reasserting the “Aryan spirit”, but ultimately ambiguous in not having gone far enough in its founding of just another dogmatic church.

When he discussed the future of religion in the future Reich, he suggested that a multiplicity of forms be tolerated, including “positive Christianity”, neo-paganism, and a form of “purified” Aryan Hinduism. He saw all these religious systems as allegorical after the manner of Schopenhauer’s teaching of religion as “folk-metaphysics”, and was skeptical that the Nordic gods, of which the keys of interpretation had been largely lost in involutive time, could gain a foothold in modern times, and not even conceding the desirability of the possibility.

Another myth, to which he gave “allegorical” and esoteric credence, was the hermetical idea of Atlantis, which he felt might preserve a memory of an ancient Aryan homeland:

And so today the long derived hypothesis becomes a probability, namely that from a northern centre of creation which, without postulating an actual submerged Atlantic continent, we may call Atlantis, swarms of warriors once fanned out in obedience to the ever renewed and incarnate Nordic longing for distance to conquer and space to shape.

This account of world history is used to support his dualistic model of human experience, as are ideas co-opted from Nietzsche and Social Darwinist writers of the era.

9.3 Influence of the book

Thanks to Nazi support, the book had sold more than one million copies by 1944. However, Adolf Hitler is said never to have read the book,^[9] and declared that it wasn’t to be considered the official ideology of the Nazi Party:

According to Konrad Heiden, Rosenberg had given the manuscript to Hitler to vet before its publication. After a year Hitler still had nothing to say. Hitler gave the still-unread work back to him saying, “I feel sure that it’s all right.”^[10] In his diary Joseph Goebbels called the book “very good” when he first read it.^[11] Albert Speer however remembered that Goebbels mocked Alfred Rosenberg.^[12] Goebbels also called the book a “philosophical belch”.^{[13][14]}

Hermann Göring said: “if Rosenberg was to decide ... we would only have rite, thing, myth and such kind of swindle.”^[15] Gustave Gilbert, the prison psychologist during the Nuremberg Trials, reported that none of the Nazi leaders he interviewed had read Rosenberg’s writings.^[16]

Its overt statement of anti-Christian sentiment made it difficult to give Rosenberg any position of prominence when the Nazis ascended to power.^[17] Even in their stronghold Hamburg only 0.49% of the inhabitants identified as belonging to the anti-Christian neopagan faith movement (in 1937),^[18] whereas the German Christians and their Positive Christianity had a strong standing. Many of the attacks on the book after its 1930 publication came from its explicit anti-Christian message. Rosenberg wrote two supplements to the work, replying to Catholic and Protestant critics. In the first, *On the Dark Men of Our Times: A Reply to Critics of the Myth of the Twentieth Century*, he accused Catholics of attempting to destroy the national character by promoting separatism within Catholic parts of the country.^[19] His second reply, *Protestant Pilgrims to Rome: The Treason Against Luther and the Myth of the Twentieth Century*, argued that modern Lutheranism was becoming too close to Catholicism.^[19]

9.4 See also

- Anti-Semitism

- Aryan race
- Christianity and anti-Semitism
- Nazi Mysticism
- Nordicism
- Race
- Racism

9.5 Notes

- [1] Quoted in Viereck, 2003, p. 229.
- [2] Robert E. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, New York: Harper and Row, 1983, p. 216.
- [3] Hitler, Adolf; Hugh-Trevor Roper. *Adolf Hitler's Secret Conversations 1941-1944*, p. 400.
- [4] Roger Griffin. *Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion*. Oxon, England, UK; New York, New York, USA: Routledge, 2005. p. 85.
- [5] *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich: Facts and Documents*
- [6] Snyder, Louis L. (1939). "Gobinism: The 'Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races'," in *Race: A History of Ethnic Theories*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 114-130.
- [7] Yahil, 1991, p. 41.
- [8] "The Berbers, among whom even today one finds light skins and blue eyes, do not go back to the Vandal invasions of the fifth century A.D., but to the prehistoric Atlantic Nordic human wave. The Kabyle huntsmen, for example, are to no small degree still wholly Nordic, thus the blond Berbers in the region of Constantine form 10% of the population; at Djebel Sheshor they are even more numerous", Alfred Rosenberg, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century (1930)*, Hrp, 2004, p. 6
- [9] Lukacs, 1998, p. xix.
- [10] Feliks Gross, *European Ideologies: A Survey of 20th Century Political Ideas*, Philosophical Library, New York, 1948, p.773.
- [11] Irving Hexham, "Inventing 'Paganists': a Close Reading of Richard Steigmann-Gall's the Holy Reich", *Journal of Contemporary History*, January 2007 42: 59-78
- [12] Albert Speer, *Erinnerungen*, Frankfurt am Main / Berlin / Wien 1969, p. 139
- [13] Goebbels, Ralf Georg Reuth; Piper; ISBN 3-492-03183-8, p. 304; Original: "*philosophischer Rülpsen*".
- [14] Eatwell, 1995, p. 119.
- [15] Goebbels, Ralf Georg Reuth; Piper; ISBN 3-492-03183-8, p. 304; Original: "... [wenn Rosenberg das Sagen hätte] ... gäbe es nur noch Kult, Thing, Mythos und ähnlichen Schwindel".
- [16] Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 177. ISBN 0230601987
- [17] Robert Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology* p.105 ISBN 0-396-06577-5
- [18] *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Volume 8. Page 556. Gruyter Verlag, 1993. ISBN 978-3-11-013898-6
- [19] Richard Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919-1945*, p.128.

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9.7 External links

- [The Myth of the 20th Century PDF](#)

Chapter 10

Zweites Buch

The *Zweites Buch* (pronounced [ˈt͡svaɪtəs buːχ], “Second Book”), unofficially published in English as *Hitler’s Secret Book* and then officially *Hitler’s Second Book*,^[1] is an unedited transcript of Adolf Hitler’s thoughts on foreign policy written in 1928; it was written after *Mein Kampf* and was not published in his lifetime. The *Zweites Buch* was not published in 1928 because *Mein Kampf* did not sell well at that time and Hitler’s publisher, Franz-Eher-Verlag, told Hitler that a second book would hinder sales even more.^[2]

10.1 Contents

10.2 *Zweites Buch* and *Mein Kampf*

Further information: [Nazi Foreign Policy \(debate\)](#)

There are a number of similarities and differences between *Zweites Buch* and *Mein Kampf*. As in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler declared that the Jews were his eternal and most dangerous opponents. As in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler outlined what the German historian Andreas Hillgruber has called his *Stufenplan* (“stage-by-stage plan”). Hitler himself never used the term *Stufenplan*, which was coined by Hillgruber in his 1965 book *Hitlers Strategie*. Briefly, the *Stufenplan* called for three stages. In the first stage, there would be a massive military build-up, the overthrow of the shackles of the Treaty of Versailles, and the forming of alliances with Fascist Italy and the British Empire. The second stage would be a series of fast, “lightning wars” in conjunction with Italy and Britain against France and whichever of her allies in Eastern Europe—such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia—chose to stand by her. The third stage would be a war to obliterate what Hitler considered to be the “Judeo-Bolshevik” regime in the Soviet Union.

In contrast to *Mein Kampf*, in *Zweites Buch* Hitler added a fourth stage to the *Stufenplan*. He insinuated that in the far future a struggle for world domination might take place between the United States and a European alliance comprising a new association of nations, consisting of individual states with high national value.^[3] *Zweites Buch* also offers a different perspective on the U.S. than that outlined in *Mein Kampf*. In the latter, Hitler declared that Germany’s most dangerous opponent on the international scene was the Soviet Union; in *Zweites Buch*, Hitler declared that for immediate purposes, the Soviet Union was still the most dangerous opponent, but that in the long-term, the most dangerous potential opponent was the United States.^[4]

10.3 Lebensraum

In the first two chapters Hitler proclaims the balance between population and natural resources to be the main focus of any nation, and he gives it a far-reaching and detailed analysis.

The starting point of his analysis is the “struggle for daily bread” (food production) as the basis of human society. From this need for self-preservation, he develops his central idea of the relationship between the population and the size of the habitat of a people. If the habitat cannot provide sufficient resources for survival, degeneration and a decline of the nation results. Hitler raises the struggle for adequate habitat to a central principle of human history.

Hitler points out that this battle is often enforced militarily, as history has adequately demonstrated.

As solutions to the struggle for living space, Hitler considers birth control, emigration of the population, increased food production, and increased exports to buy additional food. All of these alternatives he finds problematic. Birth control and emigration he believes leads to a weakening of the nation, as people are the true life-blood of the nation. The increase of food production he declares to be fundamentally limited by a finite amount of productive land. Greater exports he discards because it leads to increased market competition with other nations, making Germany dependent on outside nations and therefore leading to the situation Germany faced with the start of World War I in 1914. Hitler revisits these arguments several times in subsequent chapters.

10.4 Foreign policy

In the other chapters Hitler developed his thoughts on the future National Socialist foreign policy that serves the struggle for living space. As in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler explains that the Jews are the eternal and most dangerous opponents of the German people; he also outlines and elaborates on his future political plans.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had the United States mentioned only occasionally and even with contempt. They were, to him, a “racially degenerate” society that will continue to see its demise. In his second book, however, Hitler describes the United States as a dynamic and “racially successful” society that has eugenics, racial segregation practices, and an exemplary immigration policy at the expense of “inferior” immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Why this change occurred in Hitler’s attitude between 1924-1928 is unknown. Historians have noted that Hitler was notoriously poorly informed about the world outside Germany and, at the time of the writing of *Mein Kampf*, he probably knew little about the United States. Hitler’s knowledge of America came especially from the Western novels of *Karl May* he read. This seems to have changed by 1928; Hitler would have heard of the prosperity and industrialization in the United States, as well as the *Immigration Act of 1924*, racial segregation, and the fact that several states had the forced sterilization concept passed on supposedly mentally retarded people. Hitler stated his admiration for such measures, as well as his wish that Germany should adopt similar policies on a larger scale.

Hitler stated that National Socialist foreign policy was to be based on *Lebensraum* for the German people:

The National Socialist Movement, on the contrary, will always let its foreign policy be determined by the necessity to secure the space necessary to the life of our Folk. It knows no Germanising or Teutonising, as in the case of the national bourgeoisie, but only the spread of its own Folk. It will never see in the subjugated, so called Germanised, Czechs or Poles a national, let alone Folkish, strengthening, but only the racial weakening of our Folk.^[5]

10.5 Ideas on international relations

Of all Germany’s potential enemies, Hitler ranked the U.S. as the most dangerous. By contrast, Hitler saw the UK as a fellow “Aryan” power that in exchange for Germany’s renunciation of naval and colonial ambitions would ally itself with Germany. France, in Hitler’s opinion, was rapidly “Negroizing” itself. In regard to the Soviet Union, Hitler dismissed the Russian people as being *Slavic Untermenschen* (“sub-humans”) incapable of intelligent thought. Hitler consequently believed that the Russian people were ruled by what he regarded as a gang of bloodthirsty but inept Jewish revolutionaries.

10.5.1 United Kingdom

In *Zweites Buch*, Hitler called for an Anglo-German alliance based on political expediency as well as the notion that the two Germanic powers were natural allies. In *Zweites Buch*, Hitler argued that the alleged British striving for a balance of power leading to an Anglo-German alliance would not conflict with his goal of Germany being the dominant continental power because it was wrong to believe that “England fought every hegemonic power immediately”, but rather was prepared to accept dominant states whose aims were “obviously and purely continental in nature”.^[6] Hitler went on to write that “Of course no one in Britain will conclude an alliance for the good of Germany, but only in the furtherance of British interests.”^[7] Nonetheless, because Hitler believed that there was an ongoing struggle between the “Jewish invasion” and the “old British tradition” for the control of Britain, Hitler believed the chances for Anglo-

German alliance to be good provided the “Jewish invasion” was resisted successfully.^[8] Hitler hedged somewhat, however, by claiming that

The instincts of Anglo-Saxondom are still so sharp and alive that one cannot speak of a complete victory of Jewry, but rather, in part the latter is still forced to adjust its interests to those of the English. If the Jew were to triumph in England, English interests would recede into the background.... [But] if the Briton triumphs then a shift of England’s attitude *vis-à-vis* Germany can still take place.”^[8]

10.6 English publication history

The book was said to be “pirated”, poorly translated in English, and then unofficially published as *Hitler’s Secret Book* in 1962. More than forty years later, it was re-released “officially” in 2003 as *Hitler’s Second Book* with newer translation by Gerhard Weinberg.^[9]

10.7 See also

- List of books by or about Adolf Hitler
- Consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor

10.8 References

- [1] Publishers Weeekly
- [2] Cf. Adam Tooze (2007): *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. London. p. 13.
- [3] Hitler, Adolf; Weinberg, Gerhard L. (editor) (2003). *Hitler’s second book: the unpublished sequel to Mein Kampf*, p. 227. Enigma.
- [4] Hillgruber, Andreas *Germany and the Two World Wars*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1981 pages 50–51
- [5] Zweites Buch, p.143
- [6] Jäckel, Eberhard *Hitler’s World View* page 41
- [7] Strobl, Gerwin *The Germanic Isle* page 43.
- [8] Leitz, Christian *Nazi Foreign Policy* page 35
- [9] Endeavors.unc.edu

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10.9 External links

- *Zweites Buch* (English Translation)
- Hitler's The Racial Conception of the World

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10.10.1 Text

- Reich** *Source:* <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reich?oldid=782868592> *Contributors:* WojPob, Andre Engels, JeLuF, Roadrunner, Zoe, Q~enwiki, KF, Stevertigo, The hanged man, JohnOwens, Mic, Paul Benjamin Austin, SebastianHelm, Kosebams, Ithcoyc, Djmutex, Vzbs34, Ruhrjung, Johan Magnus, Conti, Timwi, Mevsfotw~enwiki, Dysprosia, Tschild, Furrykef, Itai, Tuomas, Raul654, AnonMoos, Jfruh, Qertis, Pigsonthewing, ChrisO~enwiki, PBS, HippieTrail, Saforrest, ElBenevolente, HangingCurve, Ich, Hokanomono, Radius, Lucky 6.9, Dingo~enwiki, Kudz75, Pgan002, J. 'mach' wust, Tothebarricades.tk, Lacrimosus, Gobnuts, Discospinster, Guanabot, RuiMalheiro, Serpens, Dbachmann, Bender235, CanisRufus, Kwamikagami, Bookofjude, Longhair, Infocidal, Kraupu, Binabik80, ProhibitOnions, Stemonitis, Angr, Woohookitty, Ekem, Maartenvdbent, RicJac, Karmosin, Doric Loon, Mandarax, John Anderson, Olessi, Ucucha, Atitavev, Hairy Dude, RussBot, Longbow4u, Ugur Basak, Geoff NoNick, Seeaxid, Gerhard51, Ospalh, Lockesdonkey, 3 Löwi, Deville, Tropylium, Che829, Killerandy, SmackBot, Lestrade, Jim62sch, Kintetsubuffalo, Hmains, Chris the speller, Bluebot, Movementarian, Rex Germanus, Strafrechtler~enwiki, Bazonka, Colonies Chris, Alphathon, Coat of Arms, Cvieg, David ekstrand, Hestemand, Aarandir, Agathoclea, Willy turner, Midnightblueowl, Missionary, Skapur, Eluchil404, R9tgokunks, Lentower, Shandris, Chrisahn, Peripitus, Future Perfect at Sunrise, R-41, Tkynerd, Thijs!bot, Nalvage, Jimhoward72, Anonymtroll, JAnDbot, Deflective, Ultracobalt, Magioladitis, WODUP, Berig, Thehalfone, Al-Iskandar Tzaraath, MartinBot, Schmlouf, 52 Pickup, Johnpacklambert, B****n, Nsdap-prevail, Viltharis, Andreas Kaganov, Martin451, Frank G Anderson, Maxim, Euryalus, Triganus, Audioline, Orestejunior, Seth Whales, Rfortner, Orangerider, Danog-76, ImageRemovalBot, Chriff, Timeineurope, The Thing That Should Not Be, Knepfle, Niceguyedc, Dylan620, Bob bobato, Masterblooregard, Andrei Iosifovich, Ziko, Mtsmallwood, Hider Morti, SchreiberBike, BR01097, Wikiuser100, Ad-dbot, Roentgenium111, CanadianLinuxUser, Ederiel, Mnmazur, Download, Nordisk varg, HonorTheKing, Tide rolls, OIEnglish, Ettrig, Legobot, Luckas~bot, Legobot II, DB.Gerry, Angel ivanov angelov, Aradic-es, Jean.julius, AmericanBang, AnomieBOT, Materialscientist, Thabet202, Khajidha, Hoin1585, GrouchoBot, RibotBOT, Rasmus 28, Bpselvam, FrescoBot, Kwiki, JHumphries, I dream of horses, Adlerbot, BigBodBad, Full-date unlinking bot, Antemister, Jurryaany, EmausBot, John of Reading, Grey2100, GoingBatty, Tommy2010, Mmeijeri, SporkBot, Gz33, Morgan Hauser, Bos293, ClueBot NG, RJFF, Helpful Pixie Bot, Poetsirrah!, DBigXray, MusikAnimal, User1961914, The Almighty Drill, Ernio48, Boeing720, Oslomin, ChrisGualtieri, Metaello, YFdyh-bot, Mogism, Radarm, Malaciamala, EmanFTW, Comitatus, BD2412bot, Lux-hibou, Blgijnhoutx, Hubon, CooleoSauce, BirdCrap Supreme, Jasonfletchernewell and Anonymous: 188
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